The Christian East

EDITORIAL

THE SHAME OF EUROPE

"I WILL only say that these last weeks have been for me, as for thousands of Englishmen, days of trouble and rebuke and blasphemy." So spoke Bishop Gore on October 15 at the Pannychidi in St. Sophia for the martyred Metropolitan, Chrysostom.

Assuredly the time will come when, not only in London, but in Paris and Rome, men will hang their heads at the name of Smyrna.

Think of the black shame with which Europe has stained its soul! Four short years ago the unhappy Christians of the East went wild with relief at the news of the Turks' surrender. What a welcome Constantinople—always Christian in the great mass of its people—gave the Union Jack and the Tricouleur as the ships of freedom steamed in sight of St. Sophia. Two millions or more of their blood and faith had been martyred by the red death or the white during the war. They had lived those latter days under the threat of a like extermination. Now the shadow had passed. The centuries of their helotage were over for ever. Their nations had risked everything to help the cause of liberty. Greek soldiers had won victories in Macedonia for Franchet d'Esperey. The Armenians of the mountains had drawn the Turks' teeth. Both knew that their sin against their ancient tyrants was past forgiveness. If the Allies had lost, their punishment would have been swift, terrible, final. But the Allies had won, and they were safe. Small wonder that they crowded to cheer the victors.

In the four full years that have passed since then the Turk has been given licence and power to wring a vengeance from them such as beggars Timur or Genghis Khan. Asia Minor, unhappy homeland of civilization and Christianity, has been harvested of its gleanings, and is empty and Turkish at last. While the Allies' ships lay off its quay, and Europe watched curiously, if uneasily, Smyrna has been given over as a promised prize to the army which France and Italy boast to be their creation.

Can anything in history equal the horror of the sack of the great Christian city? of the pitiful stream of myriads upon myriads of refugees who, pouring into it from up-country, sought safety and found death? of the onrush of the Turkish hordes? of the four days' pillage and massacre, and cruel, deliberate, torturing outrage? of the firing of the Christian quarters, planned with cool calculation rather to blot out every remembrance that Smyrna, Giaour Ismir, had never been Turkish than to destroy the evidence of Kemal's monstrous crime? of the huge mass of packed humanity rocking in

agony for three days on the quay, held there under the scorching, licking flames by the machine-guns of the Turkish troops? of the nightmare of its screaming, heard by ships miles away? of the thousands who flung themselves into the sea, and the other tens of thousands of lads, of young girls and women, who caught the ravisher's fancy and were dragged away into slavery? of the multitudes of terrified creatures who thronged and fought for a place on the ships of refuge, and are dying in their tens of thousands by famine and pestilence in the barren islands to which they have escaped?

The stupendous infamy is past description, but the hideous manner of its beginning epitomizes it. When the regular Kemalist troops had marched into Smyrna, they waited—for the Turk is always obedient to orders—for leave to begin the revelry with which Kemal was pledged to supply the means. Nur-ed-Din, the "Light of the Faith," had been designated as the very man to govern Smyrna during its sack by the brilliant genius and inventiveness he had long shown in despatching Armenians. His arrival gave the eagerly expected signal. Thus. The Greek Metropolitan, Chrysostom, who, like Polycarp before him, had preferred death to flight, hastened at once to him to plead for his people. Nur-ed-Din mocked the absurdity, spat in his face, struck him with his own hand, and handed him over to be used by the Moslem rabble as an example of the way of handling rebellious *rayah*. His beard and hair having been plucked out by the roots, he was paraded through the streets, mishandled unspeakably, and finally crucified outside his own cathedral. In strict accord with that exemplar, pillage and massacre reigned in Smyrna until it was judged time to burn out everything Christian left in it.

Now—as the Metropolitan Germanos cried aloud in St. Sophia, Bayswater—nothing remains in Smyrna, for three thousand years the home of civilization and for two thousand years the home of Christianity, except ruins, dead bodies—and Turks. The Eye of Asia has become the Black Shame of Europe.

How did it come about that France joined with Italy not only in equipping Kemal for his exploit, but in acclaiming it as her own triumph? Some tell us that she wills to wear the Kaiser's mantle as hegoumen of the Moslem world. Others, that M. Poincaré was piqued because Great Britain vetoed a French frontier on the left bank of the Rhine. Others, that M. Franklin-Bouillon had bartered her support for lucrative concessions. Others, again, that she suspected Great Britain to be determined to keep Constantinople and the Straits for her selfish self.

The fact would appear to be that the Quai d'Orsay has played diplomatic poker with Downing Street—and has won. For that we do not care a burnt-out match. The thing which strikes us in the face as a shameful blow is that imperialistic rivalries—our own, if you will, as much as French—have steeped Europe in apathetic indifference to the infamy of the colossal crime which has been perpetrated in open day. How *can* France, the real France which we have loved so greatly, close her eyes to the shame which has fallen on Europe? The explanation, it would seem, must be searched for in something deeper than mere diplomatic rivalries. One half of France,

the half of the Agnostic Grand Lodges, loves the Turk because he is not a Christian. "One cannot forget," perorates Gaston Gaillard (Pierre Loti's henchman), in the most widely read and the most dishonest of French pro-Turk propagandist books, "that Islam acted as a counterpoise to Christianity, or that it played an important part in our civilization by securing the continuance and penetration of Eastern and Pagan influences."[1] Antichristian France sees Kemal in the halo of a destroying avatar. The other half of France dislikes the Greek and Armenian because they are the wrong kind of Christian.

To Mustapha Kemal, Smyrna was no more than a gustative; his full banquet was set in Constantinople, where three-quarters of a million Christians waited for him. He had an army of 100,000 men, flushed with victory, and of a quality the best which Europeans could make them. Also, he knew that France and Italy would loudly declare that not a shot should be fired to baulk his appetite. It seemed impossible that the doomed city could escape.

Let our quidnuncs have it, if they will, that Mr. Lloyd George and his Government have otherwise been altogether pernicious and nidderling. Nothing may be more right than that for their political sins of commission and omission they should be flung for ever into the wilderness. On any other issue than the Near East, the howling mob of politicians and pressmen who are set to drag them down might have been justified. All is fair, we suppose, in party politics. None the less, they miscalculated. The British nation detected at once in the raucous slogan, "Stop This New War," a more outrageous lie than the Chinese Slavery lie of 1906, saw that without the decision to hold Chanak and to bar Kemal from his prey a greater holocaust even than that of Smyrna was inevitable. There are signs that the man in the street will soon be saying that by his courage Mr. Lloyd George preserved the honour, and therefore the strength, of the British Empire Again, we do not care relatively a burnt-out match on that matter. The thing for which at least English Churchmen will ever honour him is that, true to the great tradition of Gladstone, Salisbury, and Bryce, he saved the Christian people of Constantinople from being massacred unspeakably in vengeance for the fact that they are Greek, Armenian, and Christian. We can never pay that debt sufficiently, but we shall never forget it.

What is going to happen in Constantinople? We must be content with the gain that Kemal may be stopped from hanging its Patriarch, Meletios IV. in 1922 on the spot where Gregory V. was hung in 1821, and that its kennels are not to run red again with Christian blood. France and Italy forbid an amnesty, and will that the Greek and Armenian should quit it. Therefore except for Uniates, New Rome, the metropolis of Eastern Christendom, the home of the Councils, must keep her Sabbaths, and, bereft of her children, must for a season be half desert and half a Turkish, Moslem city.

Is it no shame to Europe that this thing should be, and no disgrace to Great Britain that her political factions should have made it possible?

[1] G. Gaillard: "The Turks and Europe," p. 407. Murby. London, 1921.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS

WE print this month the Greek originals, and with them English translations, of the letter in which the Œcumenical Patriarch informed the Archbishop of Canterbury of the result of the long investigation of his own Synod in regard to the validity of Anglican Ordinations, and of the Encyclical in which he has invited the chief bishops of the other particular autocephalous Churches with their Synods to adhere to its favourable conclusion.

These documents are patently of the first historical importance, but instead of attempting to forecast their probably profound and far-reaching effects, it will be well to consider their history and present significance.

There exists, as far as we are aware, no record of an opinion given upon the validity of Anglican Ordinations by an Orthodox theologian before the middle of the nineteenth century. Looking back from 1922 that seems a strange thing. Certainly in the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth centuries there was little intercourse between the two Communions, but there was a great deal in the seventeenth century. Under James I. and Charles I. many Greek visitors and students[1] resorted to London and Oxford, among the latter being Kritopoulos Metrophanes, a distinguished theologian, whose "Confession," reckoned as one of the five Symbolic Books throughout the Orthodox world, was avowedly written with an eye to the West. Cyril Lucar, himself Œcumenical Patriarch, had very friendly relations with the Anglican authorities, as witness the presence of his gift, Codex Alexandrinus, to-day in the British Museum. During the Commonwealth English friendship with the Orthodox was, of course, impossible. At the Restoration, however, its threads were picked up, and until German Latitudinarianism was brought in by the Hanoverians, it was developed continuously. Thus schemes were set on foot for the education of Greek ordinands at Oxford, and we have extant a most informing and important correspondence not only with the four Greek Patriarchs, but also with the Tsar Peter I, concerning a proposal of Intercommunion from the Non-jurors.[2]

How is it that in all this no question as to the validity of Anglican Ordinations appears to have been raised? The sufficient explanation seems to be that, knowing the Anglican Church to have kept her continuity at the Reformation, the Eastern Orthodox regarded her Ordinations as possessing exactly the same essentials for acceptance as were possessed by Roman Ordinations.

"If any from among the Latins return to the Orthodox and Catholic Church," decreed the Synod held at Constantinople in 1484, reaffirming the uniform Orthodox practice since the great Schism, "they are to be anointed with Holy Oil, but are not to be rebaptized," the use of Chrism enjoined being a quasi-sacramental for the reconciliation of heretics, and not the reiteration of the second sacrament. That is to say, Roman Baptism being

[1] See on this and similar matters, "Hellenism in England," Fletcher, Faith Press, 1915.

[2] Published by George Williams, "The Orthodox and the Non-jurors," 1868.

accepted and, as records evidence, Roman Ordinations being accepted in corollary, it seems never to have entered an Orthodox head that where there was no essential distinction between the Baptism and Ordination of the Roman Church and those of the Anglican, the latter could be in worse case than the former. It was therefore, as the Patriarchal Encyclical of August 1 (O.S.), 1922, points out, that Eastern hierarchs were in the habit of addressing Anglican hierarchs as "Brethren," thus implicitly recognizing them as bishops.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards Latitudinarian deadness paralyzed the Church of England, the existence of which gradually disappeared for practical purposes from the knowledge of the Eastern Orthodox.

When in the middle of the nineteenth century, by the visit to Russia, his diary of which Cardinal Newman published in 1822, Mr. W. Palmer, a deacon and a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, re-established contact between the two Confessions, there was good and sufficient reason why the Eastern-Orthodox hierarchs should treat Anglican Ordinations with reserve. Unlike their predecessors of the seventeenth century, they had no continuity of knowledge of the rediscovered Church. The assertion of its Catholic character, which had become so obscured that at first sight it was not unnaturally taken for a Protestant sect, was declared preposterous, not only by its Western adversaries, but by its own hierarchs and by the bulk of its laity. Above all, the Orthodox knew of its former dependence upon Rome, and—those were the days when the reiterated Nag's Head myth was effective ammunition—Roman propagandists assured them that Anglican Apostolic Succession had been utterly lost at the Reformation.

It was inevitable that they should stay their hand and require the resolution of their natural doubts before reverting to their former unquestioning assumption that, since they were satisfied that Roman Ordinations possess the marks of validity necessary for acceptance, they were free *ex eo ipso* to accept Anglican Ordinations.

Further, during the eighteenth century there had come about a divergence of the treatment of heterodox sacraments by the Greeks from the treatment of them by the great Russian Church. That divergence is explicable to us only when we perceive the most important difference of attitude of Eastern theology towards heterodox bodies and that of prevalent Western theology.

The former says we know only one representative of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church—namely, the Eastern Orthodox Church. The latter underwrites the statement, *mutatis mutandis*. But East and West reach it from different premises.

According to its judicial habit, the West seems to account itself able to take full estimate of schismatics and heretics. Thus it is prepared to adjudicate with certain sure judgment upon the validity *per se* of any Baptism, Orders, etc., received outside its own Communion. Such and such a Baptism is valid in itself, it lays down; such and such is not. Therefore the heretic, so pronounced to be validly baptized, *must* be received as baptized. There is no discretion in the matter. To reiterate a sacrament of "indelible character" would be blasphemy. It is in development of this

viewpoint that Canon Lacey and others have contended that heretics and schismatics from the Church who have been validly baptized must be regarded as members of the Church, and that maintaining that the great Protestant bodies, in that they have sacraments which are valid *per se*, are sections of the divided Church and not self-constituted sects, Dr. A. C. Headlam partly justified the Reunion platform of his able and attractive Bampton Lectures in 1920.

It is not our business here and now to vindicate or to disown Western theology.

We simply note that Eastern theology speaks with another voice. As for what goes on outside the only "certain ark of salvation" known to us, it says, we cannot tell. Heterodox sacraments may or may not be valid in themselves: it is God's function and not ours to decide that issue. All we can say is whether or no they possess sufficient assayable marks of validity to warrant their acceptance.

If the Church concludes that they have such marks, then, as the "prudent steward" of God's treasure-house, empowered to bind and loose, she is free to receive or to refuse them at her discretion. In the case of individuals or groups, she can reject them, no matter what outward marks of validity they possess. Or she can accept them, no matter what marks they lack. Some writers, such as Professor Dyobouniotes, have declared that she can even, *e.g.*, accept Ordinations in which the outward Apostolic Succession itself is lacking. When she accepts them, she supplies by her acceptance whatever they have been lacking for their validity *per se*. It was in the exercise of this duty of Economy, of the Rule of the Household, that from 1620 to 1667 the Russians abandoned the old practice of receiving converts with Chrism only, and rebaptized all Westerns: and again that in 1756 the four Greek Patriarchs signed an Oros which enjoined that "all heretics" must be "received as unordained and unbaptized," and which has hitherto not been superseded formally.[1]

This inability on principle to pronounce on the validity *per se* of any heterodox Sacraments both explains and is illustrated by Meletios IV.'s statement in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury that "the Ordinations of the Anglican Episcopal Confession . . . possess the same validity as those of the Roman Old Catholic and Armenian Churches possess, inasmuch as all essentials are found in them which are held indispensable from

[1] See "Palmer's Dissertations," Masters, 1853, p. 200. This Oros has apparently lapsed by general consent of the Greek Churches, converts being rarely rebaptized now, and where they hold Roman or Anglican or Old Catholic Orders not being reordained. We are not aware whether Jacobites, Armenians, etc., have ever been treated as coming under the Oros. A Bishop of the Roman Obedience was rebaptized, chrismated, and ordained as late as 1840. The Œcumenical Patriarchate assures us that within its cognizance no Anglican has ever been reordained. A Mr. Morgan, whose case was repeatedly cited with emphasis a couple of years ago, by Dr. A. Fortescue (see, *e.g.*, his "Orthodox Eastern Church," p. 262), as evidence to the contrary, came to the Eastern Orthodox as in Methodist Orders, and was treated accordingly. See the plain statement of the Metropolitans Demotikon Νέος Κόσμος, March 1921, and cf. Νικόλα Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια, September 17, 1922.

the Orthodox point of view for the recognition of the *Charisma* of the priesthood derived from Apostolic Succession." There is nothing condescending in the phrase. If absolute validity is not predicated, but only the same validity as of Roman Ordinations, etc., it is because the Orthodox Church disclaims the power and the function to decide on their validity *per se*, and because Roman, Old Catholic, and Armenian Orders are found by the Orthodox to possess every mark essential to validity. Nothing further could be said.

The Eastern-Orthodox investigation into Anglican Orders may be taken as having been initiated by Mr. W. Palmer's Russian visit in 1840-41. Its first stage may be typified by the adverse opinion expressed some years later by Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, 1821-67, an opinion which that famous theologian admitted to have been formed not from first-hand study, but from the *ex-parte* statements made to him by Roman Catholics.[1]

It is not surprising, indeed, that both Russians and Greeks were disposed at that period to listen to an indictment of anything British. Those were the days when the maintenance of the rule of the Turk over his Orthodox *rayah* and the forbidding the Russian Tsardom to replace the cross on the dome of St. Sophia were still the most cherished traditions of British policy. The prejudices, natural in the circumstances, were exploited effectively by Roman polemicists, who were fully alive then as now to the check which would be given to their propaganda both in Great Britain and the Near East by an Anglican-Orthodox solidarity. The most was made of the opportunities. The Anglican Church was represented as a Protestant sect which denied all sacerdotal character to its ministry. The Nag's Head Myth was narrated as historical evidence which proved it to be without Apostolic Succession. And so forth. It is noteworthy, however, that, as Meletios IV. declares in his Encyclical of August 1 (O.S.), 1922, not even in that difficult atmosphere did the Orthodox Church, as Roman Catholic writers such as Dr. A. Fortescue have laboured to assure us, "condemn" Anglican Ordinations. Meletios IV. was cautiously accurate when he wrote "that the practice of the Church affords no indication that the Orthodox Church has ever officially treated the validity of Anglican Ordinations as in doubt in such a way as would point to the reordination of the Anglican clergy as being required in the case of the union of the two Churches." Nor did the shrewd and scientific Eastern-Orthodox theologians who addressed themselves to the investigation of the matter fail to detect, at first dimly and afterwards clearly, the perversions and misrepresentations which had been made to them. The fog lifted slowly but steadily. The Nag's Head Myth was rejected and relegated to that limbo in which repose the Donation of Constantine and the pseudo-Isidorian decretals. The historico-canonicity of Anglican tradition was held to be established. It was perceived that the Anglican Rite of Ordination was sufficient, and that the other Anglican official documents were more than capable of defence against the suggestion that they conflicted with any essential doctrine held by the East to be involved in that of the Apostolic Priesthood.

[1] See the extract from the Report of the Bonn Conference printed below, p. 114.

The strongly hostile hesitancy of writers such as the liturgiologist Maltzev, Provost of the Russian Academy in Berlin, who could write of Anglican Orders, "deren Gultigkeit mindestens zweifelhaft ist," gave place to friendly sympathetic expectation. The Papal condemnation of Anglican Orders in 1896 found the Eastern-Orthodox vastly better informed than had been their predecessors fifty years back. To them it appeared "sinister,"[1] and had the aspect of being influenced by the necessity of keeping the Anglican and Eastern Churches apart.

In 1897 Vasili Sokolov, a Moscow professor of distinction, who had focussed his attention on the matter, produced his enquiry into the hierarchy of the Anglican Episcopal Church.[2] In it he tore the historical and liturgical side of Leo XIII.'s memorable Bull, Apostolicæ Curæ, to shreds and expressed himself as prevented by one doubt only before declaring the validity of Anglican Orders to be established. That doubt was not phrased as a suspicion, but rather as an invitatory question through putting the which the questioner expects to elicit an expected confirmation of his own opinion. He asked simply for a clear and explicit statement that the Anglican Church holds Holy Orders to be a Sacrament in the same sense in which the Orthodox Church holds Holy Orders to be a Sacrament. Professor Bulgakov,[3] an authority of the first rank, followed in 1898 with a similar though independent study, and with essentially identical conclusions. Thus, by the beginning of the century—for many others, especially at Halki, the episcopal seminary of Constantinople and at Athens, had devoted protracted and minute attention to the subject—"orthodox theologians," as Meletios IV. states in his Encyclical, had "almost unanimously" come to a conclusion in favour of Anglican Ordinations. All that was needed to clinch the matter was an Anglican Declaration of the scope and kind which had been suggested.

At that time, however, while their always friendly relations were growing closer, the great bond of many spiritual intimacies between individual members of the two Communions and the warm Anglican entente of to-day were only beginning to be fashioned. Consequently the *terrain* for the mutual approach of the two Churches had not been prepared as in a measure it has since been prepared. Moreover, then as now, for the Orthodox full dogmatic agreement was the criterion of the possibility of Union, and the only basis for such agreement was as, of course, it still is the Faith of the Undivided Church of the first nine centuries. That Faith, as the Orthodox have always stated, not only includes particulars such as a doctrine of Church Infallibility, the propitiatory character of the Unbloody Sacrifice as offered for the living and the dead, the Septenary Sacramental System and so forth which are challenged by sections in nearly all the Anglican Churches, but, *e.g.*, involves the excision of the Filioque, the acceptance of the decrees of the Seven Œcumenical Councils as incontrovertible, and other propositions at which very many Anglicans would have hesitated. Reunion, therefore, did not seem

[1] See the statement made in 1910 by Chrysostom, Metropolitan of Smyrna, reprinted in the *Church Times*, September 22, 1922, from *Eirene*, vol. iv., 1, p. 22.

[2] Printed in part in "Birkbeck and the Russian Church."

[3] "The Question of Anglican Orders," S.P.C.K., 1899.

visible on the remotest horizon in 1900, and since no motive was then apparent for putting the somewhat complex machinery to work to pronounce upon the matter, the situation might have dragged on indefinitely.

That it did not do so was due in the first instance to a practical problem in U.S.A. and the British Colonies. As far back as the eighties, Greeks, Russians, Serbs, Rumans, and Syrians, members of the large and scattered bodies of immigrants to these countries, finding themselves isolated from all Orthodox ministrations, and finding also the great affinity which the Anglican Churches have with the Eastern Orthodox, began to resort to Anglican priests for the Sacraments. Theirs was a pressing emergency, and sooner than leave them without Baptism or Christian Marriage, to say nothing of Absolution and Communion, more than one Orthodox hierarch,[1] considering the Economy of the case, authorized and even enjoined their doing so.

From the Anglican side, the position obviously required regularizing, and to that end in 1902 certain American priests submitted a questionnaire to the Œcumenical Patriarchate. The validity of Anglican Ordinations was clearly cardinal to the reply. If the Patriarchate could not accept them as valid, it could not exercise Economy to sanction Anglican ministrations in emergency to the Orthodox.

That questionnaire was referred to the Halki professoriate, which made its report to the Patriarchate in 1904 in the form of a treatise, "The Validity of Anglican Ordinations," by Professor Androutsos,[2] then at Halki and now at Athens. After reviewing the whole matter from a slightly different angle, Androutsos came altogether to the same conclusion as Sokolov and Bulgakov. The evidence, he concluded, pointed very strongly to a favourable judgment. Given an explicit Anglican answer to four questions bearing on the function and authority of the priesthood, and involving the Infallibility of the Church, the incontrovertibility of the decrees of the Œcumenical Councils, the propitiatory character of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and the power of the priest to absolve, all doubt would be removed. That a very large proportion of the Anglican clergy could have answered those questions in 1904 as they answered them in 1922 is plain, but Androutsos had so stressed the desirability of the answers being given in the form of an official statement by the Anglican Episcopate as to give the impression that only a synodical act would meet the case. Therefore, if only because however hard they sometimes find it to get on with each other, all Anglican schools of thought would find it harder to break the essential unity which binds them all together, nothing was done, and a standing committee appointed by the Patriarchate at that time, and presided over by Bryennios, of Nicomedia, the celebrated finder of the Didache, was left waiting for a reply.

Very much has happened since 1904. A book would be needed to describe the developments of Anglican and Orthodox intercourse, the progress of their mutual knowledge, the innumerable spiritual intimacies of the rank and file, the friendships and acts of brotherly ceremonial courtesy

[1] Instances of such praxeis are given in "The Relation of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox," J. A. Douglas, 1921.

[2] Translated very badly, Grant Richards, 1905.

between the hierarchies, the conferences among theologians, the hospitality exercised to Serb and Greek students at Oxford and London Universities, and other happenings in England, America, the British Dominions, and the Near East, which have intensified and made practical the will of the two Communions towards Reunion. Their relations are epitomized in the extraordinary reverence and affection in which the whole of Eastern Christianity holds the name of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, both as the chief Bishop of the Anglican Churches, and for his courageous humanitarian championship of the persecuted Russian Church and of the now almost extirpated Christians of Asiatic Turkey.

No *entente* could be warmer that that which subsists to-day between the Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox Churches, and makes the present a psychological moment in their relationship.

None the less, an official statement of the Anglican Episcopate, such as Professor Androutsos invited, was as impossible in 1920 as in 1904. It is certain that far less than the E.C.U. Declaration of this year would have met the requirement, and it is conceivable that individually the majority of the Bishops assembled at Lambeth in 1920 could have answered his questions satisfactorily. But assuming for the moment that they were able, and might have been willing, to do so collectively, there are sections in the Anglican Communion which would have repudiated their action, and whose conscientious *non possumus*, while maintained, would rightly have prevented it. Anglican disruption would be an unthinkable price to pay even for full Reunion with the Eastern Orthodox. Moreover, a Lambeth Conference is not a Synod, and, weighty though its resolutions are, they are not official in the sense that Professor Androutsos asked for an official declaration. In fact, however much he had desiderated an official utterance by the Anglican Episcopate, he had himself hinted that in its absence another form of assurance would be adequate.

Since the Armistice in 1918 things have moved very rapidly. In December, 1919, the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed his Eastern Churches Committee, under the chairmanship of Bishop Gore, and in 1920, at its suggestion, invited the Œcumenical Patriarchate, which had been in a state of widowhood since the abdication of Germanos V. in January, 1919, to send a delegation to the Lambeth Conference.

That delegation arrived in due course, and, remaining several weeks in London, held many consultations with the Lambeth Committee of the Bishops, which, presided over by the Bishop of Gloucester, dealt specially with Orthodox relations, with the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee, and other theologians. As has been insisted upon by non-Anglicans who wish ill to the cause of Anglican and Orthodox Reunion, the Report[1] which, on its return to Constantinople, it presented to the Holy Synod naturally drew attention to those details in our formularies which are capable of being interpreted as deficient or ambiguous by the Orthodox. But it showed that the members of the delegation had been confirmed in

[1] A translation appeared in the March, 1922, CHRISTIAN EAST.

their previous confidence that Anglican Ordinations possessed all the marks essential for acceptance as valid.

Earlier in the year an American Delegation, of which the Bishop of Harrisburg and Dr. Emhardt were the principal members, had visited Athens and Constantinople, had again raised the question of regularizing the economic admission of individual Orthodox in emergency to Anglican ministrations, and had arranged a provisional concordat.

Accordingly, on receiving the Report of the Delegation to Lambeth, the Constantinople Synod instructed its Standing Committee to prepare a memorandum on the validity of Anglican ordinations.

That Committee actually completed its labours early in 1921, but the consideration of its Report was necessarily deferred until after the election of a new Patriarch.

In May, 1921, as the result of many conversations and much correspondence with Orthodox theologians, the Rev. J. A. Douglas published his book, "The Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox,"[1] urging that since an official Anglican answer to Professor Androutsos was out of the question, an unofficial Declaration signed by a large body of Anglican clergy would meet the requirement.

To perform is not the necessary result of to will, and the preparation of such a Declaration demanded no small amount of theological skill, of labour, and of expense. If the English Church Union had not stepped in, the matter might well have gone no further. Its theological Committee, however, devoted itself, under its chairman, Canon Darwell Stone, to the task, and by May of this year had drafted for presentation to the Œcumenical Patriarch the Declaration of Faith, which was printed with Greek, Russian, Serb, Ruman, and Latin translations in the CHRISTIAN EAST of last June.

On its first publication in England, over the signatures of Bishop Gore and sixty-eight other clergy, this E.C.U. Declaration was met by sharp, if limited, criticism. On the face of it, it was a sectional document, and there was no reserve as to its being so. We Anglicans have not altogether divested ourselves of the evil habit, acquired in bad, bitter days of controversy, of distrusting each other's loyalty, and exception was taken, not altogether surprisingly, both to some of its details and to the propriety of its being addressed to the chief bishop of a Church not in communion with the See of Canterbury. All, however, except a few extremists,[2] soon perceived that, if the E.C.U. Declaration was a sectional document, it had no sectional objective. It stated quite explicitly what its authors hold to be the genuine teaching of the Anglican Church, but it contained no word of condemnation or provocation to those who did not share that belief. It had been fashioned not as a spear for domestic warfare, but as a spade to break the ground for Christian peace. The spirit in which it had been conceived was the large, new spirit of mutual trust and charity of the 1920 Lambeth Encyclical, and

[1] Faith Press, 1921.

[2] A counter-Declaration, signed by nineteen Anglican clergymen, seems to have reached Constantinople, and to have been received as a marplot effort of crypto-papists.

the men who issued it had no word of challenge for those other Anglicans who were developing their affinity with Free Churchmen in the cause of Home Reunion. Thus the number of its signatories soon mounted to close on 4,000, and is still increasing.

In the East—especially in Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Cyprus, Athens, and Belgrade—though its sectional character was well understood, and though so far as Constantinople was concerned, investigation had rendered it unnecessary, it created a favourable impression among those who had hesitated.

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1921, Professor Comnenos of Halki, who had acted as the leading lay theologian in the 1920 Lambeth Delegation, and had devoted many years to a first-hand study of the Anglican Communion, published the substance of the report of the Patriarchal Committee in the form of a monograph, under the title of "Anglican Ordinations,"[1] the expenses, we cannot help noting, being defrayed by the martyred Metropolitan of Smyrna. In this, while giving his reasons with meticulous detail, he announced it as his conclusions that—

1. Anglican Ordinations possess every essential mark of validity.
2. The Orthodox Church should accept them as valid.
3. It should accept all Anglican Sacraments.

Further, quoting a decision of Theophylact of Bulgaria, who is received as an Orthodox theologian of the highest authority, he recommended that the mutual resort of Anglicans and Orthodox in emergency to each other's Sacraments should be authorized forthwith, and maintained that, if necessary, the Church of Constantinople could give such authorization for its own people without the concurrence of the other autocephalous Churches. For the latter proposition he adduced what would appear to be sufficient precedent.

Meletios IV. was elected to the Œcumenical Throne in January last, and after delay due to other pressing businesses, the Holy Synod proceeded to consider the Committee's report. With the long and favourable investigation which lay behind, its decision was a foregone decision. As the Patriarch states cautiously in his Encyclical, "the Orthodox theologians who" had "scientifically examined the question had almost unanimously come to the same conclusion, and" had "expressed themselves as accepting the validity of Anglican Ordinations."

Dr. Emhardt, who was visiting the Near East in connection with American relief work, was expected in July at Constantinople. His services to the Orthodox Church have been conspicuous, and, as a mark of their appreciation, the final stage of the Synod's deliberation was postponed until the Patriarch could hand him the letter in which the Œcumenical Patriarchate announced its unanimous decree accepting the validity of Anglican Ordinations, for presentation to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On Dr. Emhardt's arrival in England, His Grace received the letter, and wrote a suitable acknowledgment. The Metropolitan of Thyateira then sent it to the *Church Times* for publication.

[1] A translation of Professor Comnenos' thesis without the lengthy appendices which examine the evidence, was given in the CHRISTIAN EAST, September, 1921.

With Scotch caution we are careful to point out that—

1. To become an Œcumenical act throughout the Orthodox Church the acceptance of Anglican Ordinations by the Œcumenical Patriarchate needs to receive the adherence of the other autocephalous Churches—*i.e.*, of the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Russia, and of the Churches of Greece, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania, and Czecho-Slovakia, if not of Bulgaria.

2. Constantinople, as well as the other Churches, has yet to give formal authorization to Economic Intercommunion by Anglicans and Orthodox in emergency.

From the long investigation which the Synods of at least three of those Churches have devoted to the matter, and from the satisfaction, evidenced both by official periodicals and by private correspondence, with which the Constantinople Encyclical has been received in all of them, we are sanguine that, though time may necessarily impose delay, that adherence will be given in the near future.

But however that may be, the Constantinople decision is epochal, and will lift the relations of the two Communions into another atmosphere.

I. To work for the Reunion of two Churches, one of which must regard the other as possibly a doubtful body, is a vastly different thing from working for the Reunion of two Churches each of which accepts the other as possessing a Ministry marked by every essential characteristic as Catholic and Apostolic. From now onwards the relationship of Anglicans and Orthodox is that of brothers who, if separated, are bone of the same bone.

II. The successful persecution by many forces other than Moslem and Bolshevik which are concentrated to destroy the Eastern Orthodox Church and which hate its friendship with the Anglican Church above all things, has thrown its machinery out of gear. It is, therefore, very probable that in any event the formal authorization of Economic Intercommunion will be delayed. None the less, the mutual emergency hospitality of Anglicans and Orthodox will continue to increase, and, binding the two Confessions with the strongest of all practical bonds, will be a great factor in preparing the ground for the final approach to Reunion.

III. In regard to Reunion itself, it is manifest that, in the new atmosphere and with an ever-growing intimacy, the removal of the doctrinal differences which separate the two Churches will become much less difficult. We are confident that, so far as not only Anglo-Catholics, but also the great body of Anglicans, are concerned, these differences, Filioque and all, could be settled almost forthwith. But, as we have laboured to point out in season and out of season, for the Orthodox Reunion and, which is the same thing, the declaration of Confessional Intercommunion implies full Dogmatic Agreement, and must, therefore, include an unambiguous and unequivocal Act of Doctrinal Union explicitly and corporately binding the whole membership of both Churches. The preparation for our Reunion with the Orthodox, therefore, demands the finding a basis for an Act of Doctrinal Agreement which the Orthodox can affirm, and which would not be repudiated by any distinct section among Anglicans.

Even now in the days of their catastrophe the Orthodox are addressing themselves to the problems of the modern world, and we believe that without departing from their historic tradition they will move by restatement to a position which interpreted in a spirit of love will attract and will not repel any school of Anglican thought. For ourselves, the first requisite is that we should be able to speak to the Orthodox with a united voice, and we believe also that as the greatness of the hope removes the Reunion of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches from the range of domestic controversy, the single eager tongue and the words for that voice will shape themselves.

To bring together two Confessions which have been remote from each other for 1,000 years is no undertaking for a few quick months. The pressing need of our movement is that very many Anglican individual students should devote themselves to specialized study of the details of Orthodox Theology, both historically and as it is to-day, and that Orthodox theologians should so study us. When the rank and file of the two Churches understand each other's fundamental view-points thoroughly, no insuperable obstacle, we are convinced, will be found to their agreeing to Terms of Intercommunion such as those Dr. Headlam printed last year as a *ballon d'essai*, at the suggestion of the Archbishop's Committee. But the guiding motto needs to be the trite, *Festina lente*.

IV. Lastly, the days are full of dark anxiety for the Orthodox World. Making it their first task to destroy the Russian Church, the Bolsheviks are using every method of persecution to force the people to abandon Orthodoxy, if not for atheism then for some other Confession. In Asia Minor, once the homeland of Christianity, the long harvest is over and the holocaust of Smyrna has completed the extirpation of the Orthodox. A decree has gone forth from the Western friends of Mustapha Kemal that the Œcumenical Patriarchate must quit Constantinople, and the Christian majority of the ancient metropolis of Christendom can be saved from massacre only by expatriation. New Rome, like St. Sophia, its Mother Church, is to be made wholly and for ever Turkish and Moslem. These are heavy penalties to pay for the faithfulness which as in 1453 so in 1922 refuses to find security by the word of apostasy, and they are not the last with which the Orthodox are menaced.

None the less, we are confident that in God's plan the Orthodox Church will not perish, but rather that in the near future it will be joined not only with our own, but with the totality of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, in a spiritual sodality by far the greatest in the world numerically and in geographical extension, as also the most potent in influence.

Modern Christendom needs the contribution to progress and brotherhood which the Orthodox can make. May we Anglicans be privileged to help them render it.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS

LETTER OF THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Σεβασμιώτατε Ἀρχιεπίσκοπε Καντουαρίας καὶ Πρωθιεράρχα πάσης Ἀγγλίας, ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ λίαν ἀγαπητὲ καὶ περιπόθητε ἀδελφὲ Κύριε Ράνδαλλ, τὴν Ὑμετέραν λίαν ἀγαπητὴν ἡμῖν Σεβασμιότητα ἀδελφικῶς ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀσπαζόμενοι, ἥδιστα προσαγορεύομεν.

Ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδικὴ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑνώσεως τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν Ἐπιτροπὴ ἔγνω ἐφελκῦσαι τὴν προσοχὴν ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς Ἁγίας Συνόδου ἐπὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τοῦ κύρους τῶν ἀγγλικανικῶν χειροτονιῶν ἀπὸ Ὀρθοδόξου ἀπόψεως. Λυσιτελὲς γὰρ ἂν εἴη διὰ τὸ ὅλον τῆς ἑνώσεως ζήτημα γνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ σημείου τούτου γνώμην τῆς Ἁγίας Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας.

Ἡ οὖν Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος, ἐξ ἀφορμῆς τοιαύτης, τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν προεδρίαν ἐπιλαβομένη καὶ ἐκ πασῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀποψέων ἀνακρίνασα, κατέληξεν εἰς τὴν γνώμην ὅτι ἀπέναντι τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας αἱ τῆς Ἀγγλικανῆς Ἐπισκοπιανῆς Ὁμολογίας χειροτονίαι Ἐπισκόπων Ἱερέων καὶ Διακόνων ἔχουσι τὸ αὐτὸ κῦρος, ὅπερ ἔχουσι καὶ αἱ τῆς Ρωμαικῆς, τῆς Παλαιοκαθολικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἅτε δὴ ὑψισταμένων πάντων τῶν στοιχείων, ἅτινα κρίνονται ἀπαραίτητα ἀπὸ ὀρθοδόξου ἀπόψεως πρὸς ἀναγνώρισιν χαρίσματος Ἱερωσύνης ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς.

Καὶ εὔδηλον μὲν ὅτι οὔπω πρόκειται περὶ ἀποφάσεως τῆς ὅλης Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς Ὀρθοδόξους Ἐκκλησίας ὁμογνώμονας εὑρεθῆναι τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἁγιωτάτης Ἐκκλησίας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἔχον οὐκ ἔστι δήπου σημασίας ἄμοιρον τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ἡ Σύνοδος μιᾶς καὶ δὴ τῆς Πρωτοθρόνου τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ ζητήματος ἐπιλαβομένη κατέληξεν εἰς τὴν διαγνώμην ταύτην.

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ πολλῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ Ὑμετέρᾳ ἀγαπητῇ Σεβασμιότητι ὡς Πρωθιεράρχῃ τῆς ὅλης Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀνακοινούμεθα, βέβαιοι ὄντες ὅτι καὶ ἡ Ὑμετέρα Σεβασμιότης ἐξ ἴσου ἡδέως πρὸς τὴν διαγνώμην ταύτην διατεθήσεται, ἀναγνωρί-

ζουσα ἐν αὐτῇ πρόοδον ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τῷ θεοφιλεῖ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἑνώσεως.

Ὁ Οὐράνιος Πατήρ δῴη Ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

απκβ : Ἰουλίου κστ".

Τῆς Ὑμετέρας λίαν ἀγαπητῆς Σεβασμιότητος ἀγαπητός ἐν Χῷ ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅλως πρόθυμος.

✠ ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΣ.

Translation of letter of His Holiness, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in re Anglican ordinations, issued by the hand of Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira, Exarch of Western and Central Europe, at his Cathedral of St. Sophia, Bayswater, September 1, 1922.

Most Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury and Chief Hierarch of all England, Brother, beloved and yearned for in Christ our God, Lord Randall, greetings; your Reverence were beloved by us, fraternally in the Lord, we address you with gladness.

Our special committee dealing with the Union of the Churches has drawn our attention and that of our Holy Synod to the question of the validity of Anglican ordinations from the orthodox point of view, for that it would be profitable in regard to the whole question of union that the opinion of the Holy Orthodox Church should be known upon this matter.

Accordingly the Holy Synod on this opportunity takes under our presidency the matter under consideration, and, having examined it from every point of view, has concluded that, as before the Orthodox Church, the ordinations of the Anglican Episcopal confession of Bishops, priests, and deacons, possess the same validity as those of the Roman, Old Catholic, and Armenian Churches possess, inasmuch as all essentials are found in them which are held indispensable from the orthodox point of view for the recognition of the "Charisma" of the priesthood derived from Apostolic succession.

Indeed, on the one hand, it is plain that there is no matter here as yet of a decree by the whole Orthodox Church. For it is necessary that the rest of the Orthodox Churches should be found to be of the same opinion (in the matter) as the Most Holy Church of Constantinople.

But even so it is an event not without significance that the Synod of one, and that the Primatial Throne of the Orthodox Churches, when taking the matter into consideration, has come to this conclusion.

Therefore with great joy we communicate the matter to Your Beloved Grace as the Chief Hierarch of the whole Anglican Church, being sure that your Grace will be equally favourably disposed towards this conclusion, as recognizing in it a step forward in that work of general union which is dear to God.

May the Heavenly Father grant unto us to be of the same mind, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever and ever.

July 28, 1922.

Your well-beloved Grace's beloved brother in Christ, and altogether well disposed,

✠ MELETIOS.

For this exact translation the Metropolitan of Thyateira, Germanos.

ENCYCLICAL ON ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS

FROM THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH TO THE PRESIDENTS OF THE PARTICULAR EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

(*Reprinted from* Ἐκκλησιαστικη Αλή Θεια.)

Τοῖς προέδροις τῶν ἁγίων Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν.

Ἡ ἁγιωτάτη Ἐκκλησία Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀνέκαθεν τῷ πόθῳ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἑνώσεως διαφλεγομένη, ἀεὶ δὲ τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν νῷ ἔχουσα, ὅσα μικρὸν πρὸ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον αὐτοῦ Πατέρα ηὔξατο "ἵνα πάντες ἓν ὦσι," παρηκολούθει μὲν ἐνδιαφερόντως πάντοτε πᾶσαν τῶν διϊσταμένων Ἐκκλησιῶν κίνησιν, ἀνέκρινε δ' ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ἐπισταμένως πᾶσαν αὐτῶν ὁμολογίαν πίστεως ἡ οἱανδήποτε ἄλλην δήλωσιν, γινομένην πρὸς ἐπίτευξιν προσεγγίσεως αὐτῶν τῇ Ὀρθοδοξίᾳ. Μετ' εὐαρεσκείας δὲ διεπίστωσεν, ὅτι μεταξὺ τούτων ἡ πάντοτε τὴν ζωηροτέραν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ἄρσεως τῶν ἐπιπροσθούντων πρὸς προσέγγισιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ πλήρη ἕνωσιν αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας διατρανώσασα ὑπῆρξεν ἡ Ἐπισκοπιανὴ Ἀγγλικανικὴ Ἐκκλησία, ἥτις, ἐξ ἀνατολῶν τὸ χριστιανικὸν φῶς δεξαμένη, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀποβλέπουσα καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀνατολῇ Ὀρθοδόξων εἰλικρινῆ προσέγγισιν καὶ πλήρη ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἕνωσιν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιουμένη.

Δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς Μεγάλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία τὴν προθυμίαν ταύτην δεόντως ἐκτιμῶσα καὶ πρότερον μέν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ἑκατονταετίαν, εἰς πολλὰς μετὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ταύτης προῆλθε σχέσεις εἰλικρινῶς ἀδελφικάς, ἐσχάτως δὲ καὶ εἰδικὴν συνέστησεν ἐπιτροπείαν μετὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς, ὅπως ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει ἐπιστημονικῆς ἐρεύνης καθορίσῃ τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα ἔτι σημεῖα διαστάσεως, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἄρσεως αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐπίτευξιν πλήρους ἑνώσεως τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὀρθοδόξῳ χριστιανικῷ πνεύματι.

Ἐν τῇ μελέτῃ δ' αὐτῆς ταύτῃ ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ κατιδοῦσα, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἑνὸς προέχοντος ζητήματος τοῦ κύρους δηλονότι τῶν ἀγγλικανικῶν χειροτονιῶν, ἡ ἁγία Ὀρθόδοξος

Ἐκκλησία οὔπω ἀπεφήνατο ἐπισήμως γνώμην τινά, οὔτε συνολικῶς οὔτε διά τινος τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους ἁγίων Συνόδων καίτοι ἱκαναὶ ἐγένοντο κατὰ καιροὺς συζητήσεις μεταξὺ τῶν θεολόγων αὐτῆς, ὅτι δὲ ἐπίσημός τις διερεύνησις καὶ κανονικὴ λύσις τοῦ προέχοντος τούτου ζητήματος μεγάλως ἂν διηυκόλυνε τὴν ποθητὴν ἕνωσιν ἐνὸς τῶν σπουδαιοτέρων κωλυμάτων τῶν ἐναντιουμένων εἰς τὸν ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπιδιωκόμενον θεάρεστον σκοπὸν τῆς ἑνώσεως εἰρημένου, ὑπέβαλεν ὑπὸ τὴν κρίσιν τῆς περὶ Ἡμᾶς Ἁγίας καὶ Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου ἔκθεσιν σχετικήν, ἐπιστημονικῶς διαπραγματευομένην τὸ εἰρημένον ζήτημα.

Τὴν οὖν ἔκθεσιν ταύτην τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς ἐν ἐπανειλημμέναις συνεδριάσεσιν αὐτῆς μελετήσασα ἡ περὶ ἡμᾶς Ἁγία καὶ Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος, καὶ λαβοῦσα ὑπ' ὄψιν :

1. Ὅτι ἡ χειροτονία τοῦ Ματθαίου Πάρκερ εἰς Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Καντουαρίας ὑπὸ τεσσάρων Ἐπισκόπων ἔστι γεγονὸς ἱστορικῶς μεμαρτυρημένον.

2. Ὅτι ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ ταύτῃ τε καὶ ταῖς ἑφεξῆς εὕρηνται πλήρη τὰ ὀρθόδοξα καὶ ἀπαραίτητα ὁρατά τε καὶ αἰσθητὰ στοιχεῖα ἐγκύρου ἐπισκοπικῆς χειροτονίας, ἥ τε ἐπίθεσις δηλονότι τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ἡ ἐπίκλησις τοῦ Παναγίου Πνεύματος καὶ ἡ πρόθεσις τοῦ μεταδοῦναι τὸ τῆς Ἐπισκοπικῆς διακονίας χάρισμα.

3. Ὅτι οἱ ἐπιστημονικῶς ἐξετάσαντες τὸ ζήτημα ὀρθόδοξοι θεολόγοι σχεδὸν ὁμοφώνως εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ κατέληξαν συμπεράσματα, ὑπὲρ τοῦ κύρους ἀποφανθέντες τῶν Ἀγγλικανικῶν χειροτονιῶν.

4. Ὅτι ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πρᾶξις οὐδεμίαν παρέχει ἔνδειξιν, ὅτι ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία ἔθηκέ ποτε ἐπισήμως ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τὸ κῦρος τῶν Ἀγγλικανικῶν χειροτονιῶν, κατὰ τρόπον ὑποτυποῦντα, ὅτι ἐν περιπτώσει ἑνώσεως τῶν Ἐκ]σιῶν ἡ ἀναχειροτονία τῶν Ἀγγλικανῶν κληρικῶν θεωρεῖται ἐπιβεβλημένη.

5. Ὅτι τὸ γενικὸν τοῦτο πνεῦμα τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας ἐκπροσωποῦντες οἱ κατὰ καιροὺς Ἁγιώτατοι Πατριάρχαι καὶ ἄλλοι Ἱεράρχαι τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, γράφοντες πρὸς Ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, προσηγόρευον αὐτοὺς "Σεβασμιωτάτους ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφοὺς" ἀδελφικὸν ἀπονέμοντες ἀσπασμόν, ἀπεφήνατο γνώμην ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐγκύρου τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἱερωσύνης κρίνασα ἅμα ὅπως ἡ διαγνώμη αὐτη τῆς ἱερᾶς Συνόδου τῆς ἐν Κων]πόλει Ἁγωτάτης Ἐκκλησίας ἐξαγγελθῇ καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἁγίαις ὀρθοδόξοις Ἐκκλησίαις, ὅπως δοθῇ αὐταῖς ἀφορμὴ πρὸς τοῦ ἀποφήνασθαι καὶ ταύταις τὴν ἑαυτῶν γνώμην ὥστε διὰ τῶν μερικῶν διαγνώσεων γνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ σοβαροῦ τούτου ζητήματος πανορθόδοξον ἀντίληψιν.

Γράφοντες τοίνυν καὶ τῇ Ὑμετέρᾳ λίαν ἀγαπητῇ . . . καὶ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν κρατησάσας ἐπὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου σκέψεις ἀνακινούμενοι οὐδόλως ἀμφιβάλλομεν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ Ὑμετέρα . . . μελετῶσα μετὰ τῆς περὶ Αὐτὴν ἀγ. καὶ ἱ. Συνόδου τὸ ζήτημα τοῦτο, εὐαρεστηθήσεται ἀνακοινώσασθαι ἡμῖν τὸ πόρισμα τῆς διασκέψεως πρὸς περαιτέρω καλλιέργειαν τῶν μετὰ τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἑνωτικῶν σχέσεων, ἐπὶ τῇ χρηστῇ ἐλπίδι, ὅτι ὁ Οὐράνιος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Δομήτωρ διὰ τῆς πανσθενουργοῦ αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἀναπληρώσει τὰ ἐλλείποντα καὶ ὁδηγήσει πάντας τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ εἰς τὴν πλήρη ἕνωσιν, ὅπως γένηται ἐξ αὐτῶν μία ποίμνη ὑπὸ ἀρχιποίμενα αὐτὸν τὸν ἀληθῆ ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

TRANSLATION BY J. A. D.

The Most Holy Church of Constantinople, kindled from the beginning with zeal for universal union, and always keeping in mind the Lord's words prayed by Him to His heavenly Father just before His Saving Passion, has always followed with keen interest every movement in the separated

Churches, and has examined with care and study their every and any expression of faith which might point towards a *rapprochement* with Orthodoxy. Further, it has concluded with real joy that amongst them the Church, which has manifested the most lively desire to remove the obstacles towards a *rapprochement*, and, indeed, to full union with the Orthodox Church, is the Episcopal Anglican Church, which herself, having first received the light of Christianity from the East, has never ceased to remember the East, and to account as an important end a sincere *rapprochement* towards a full union in Christ Jesus with the Orthodox in the East.

Therefore the great Church of Christ (now) under our presidency, necessarily honouring the readiness of this Church in former periods, especially in the last twenty years, entered into many sincere brotherly relations with it, and recently established a special committee, with instructions to report upon the still existing points of difference on the basis of a scientific inquiry and on the method of their removal, with a view to accomplishing a full union of the two Churches in the same Orthodox Christian spirit.

Perceiving in its labour that on an important question—namely, the validity of Anglican Ordinations—the Holy Orthodox Church had not yet officially delivered any opinion either as a whole or through any of the particular Holy Synods, although there have been many discussions (on the matter) from time to time among her theologians, and that an authoritative and canonical solution of this important question would greatly facilitate the desired union by removing one of the most serious obstacles that oppose the objective of reunion which is sought on either side and is dear to God, the committee brought under the judgment of our Holy Synod a special report treating scientifically the above-named question. Our Holy Synod studied this report of the committee in repeated sessions, and took note:

1. That the ordination of Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury by four bishops is a fact established by history.

2. That in this ordination and those subsequent to it there are found in their fulness those orthodox and indispensable visible and sensible elements of valid Episcopal Ordination—namely, the Laying-on of Hands and the *Epiklesis* of the All-Holy Spirit, and also the purpose to transmit the *charisma* of the Episcopal Ministry.

3. That the Orthodox theologians who have scientifically examined the question have almost unanimously come to the same conclusion, and have expressed themselves as accepting the validity of Anglican Ordinations.

4. That the practice in the Church affords no indication that the Orthodox Church has ever officially treated the validity of Anglican Ordinations as in doubt in such a way as would point to the reordination of the Anglican clergy being regarded as required in the case of the union of the two Churches.

5. That expressing this general mind of the Orthodox Church the most Holy Patriarchs at different periods and other hierarchs of the East, when writing to the Archbishops of the Anglican Church, have been used to address them as "Most Reverend Brother in Christ," thus giving them a brotherly salutation.

Our Holy Synod, therefore, came to an opinion accepting the validity of

the Anglican priesthood, and has decided that its conclusion should be announced to the other Holy Orthodox Churches, in order that occasion might be given them also to express their opinion, so that the mind of the Orthodox world on this important question might be known.

Accordingly, writing to your . . . well-beloved . . . and informing you of the considerations which, in this question, prevail with us, we have no doubt that your . . . also having investigated this question with your Holy Synod, will be pleased to communicate the result of your consideration to us, to the end of a further improvement of our relations in regard to union with the Anglican Church, in the hope that the Heavenly Ruler of the Church will supply that which is lacking through His all-power-inspiring grace, and will guide all who believe in Him to a full knowledge of the truth and to full union, in order that there may be of them one flock under One Chief Shepherd—the true Shepherd of the sheep, our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory for ever. Amen.

PHILARET AND ENGLISH ORDINATIONS

THE following extract from the *Report of the Bonn Conference*, 1874 (Rivingtons, 1875), is interesting to-day. Döllinger and Reinkens were Old Catholics, Rhossis a Greek Orthodox, the others Russian Orthodox.

Döllinger: Some bishops of the Eastern Church, too, have acknowledged the succession of the English Church.

Sukhotin: The learned Archbishop Philaret, who was a man of much note in Russia, gave it as his opinion that the English succession is very doubtful.

Döllinger: It is undeniable that the succession is disputed. But the solution of the question depends solely on an examination of historical evidence, and I must give it as a result of my investigations that I have no manner of doubt as to the validity of the episcopal succession in the English Church.

The ordinations of English bishops since the Reformation were first assailed by a now exploded story (the "Nag's Head" fable), and then by sundry objections, some of which rested upon utterly unfounded suppositions, while others were quite as applicable, or more so, if any importance were to be attached to them, to the ordination of Roman Catholic bishops and priests. In this matter, all turns upon the question whether Archbishop Parker and his consecrator, Bishop Barlow, were validly consecrated. The consecration of the latter was first called in question eighty years after, in 1616; it is as fully proved as any historical fact of which no official record can be produced. Parker's consecration is testified to, not only by all his contemporaries, but by documents so authentic that even Lingard throws no shadow of a doubt upon them. Circumstances occurred in the Western Church before the Reformation calculated to raise far more serious doubts as to the unbroken succession and the validity of many ordinations than anything which has been alleged against English orders. Popes have sometimes annulled the orders conferred on bishops and priests by their immediate predecessors (Constantinus and Formosus). In addition to this they have, for centuries at a time and in reckless confusion, pronounced invalid a whole host of ordinations, some on the score of simony, and some on the pretext of schism or adherence to the anti-pope. The most fatal thing of all was, however, that, in deference to an ignorant scholasticism, they altered the matter and form of the Sacrament of Holy Orders, although, according to their own doctrine, the whole virtue and validity of the ordinance

consists in these. Pope Eugenius IV. laid down in the decree which he published in the name of the Council of Florence, which has the form of a solemn definition of faith, that the matter of the Sacrament of Ordination consists in the delivery of the sacred vessels, and that the words and touch of the bishop constitute the form. By this they degraded the imposition of hands and the accompanying form of words, which for a thousand years alone constituted the sacramental act, into a non-essential ceremony, capable, therefore, of being omitted without prejudice to the virtue and effect of the act, as might be, for instance, the ceremony of the salt in the baptism. The thought inevitably forces itself upon one that the bishops who accepted this new papal doctrine may have omitted in many cases, and especially in very large ordinations, the act which was held to be non-essential. If the Orientals, from want of further information, cannot agree with us on the subject of this clause, we must content ourselves with affirming the view of the Old Catholic theologians present.

Reinkens: I must own that my historical researches have led me to the same conclusion as to the validity of English orders.

Janyschew: The statements of such weighty authorities as the last two speakers will be deemed worthy of consideration in Russia. We should rejoice if further research led to the establishment of the validity of English orders.

Rhossis: Anglican bishops and priests are very highly esteemed in the Greek Church. Some years ago, Gregory, the former Patriarch of Constantinople, and other Greek bishops exchanged letters with English bishops, in which they greeted one another as "brethren in Christ." But the question of episcopal succession in the English Church and the Churches derived from her has not yet been determined by the Greek Church, though I hope that it will be determined before long.

Bishop of Pittsburgh: A thorough study of the question must make the matter clear to the Eastern Church. I thank the President and Bishop Reinkens for their expression of opinion. The bishops and priests of the English and American Churches have, indeed, no doubt whatever as to their own claims, but we value such frank statements as a fresh proof of the brotherly feeling which the Old Catholics entertain toward us.

Liddon: I had some conversation with Archbishop Philaret a year before his death, and he told me that he had not himself studied the historical authorities on the question, but that he rested his opinion of the consecrations during the reign of Queen Elizabeth simply on the testimony of Roman Catholic writers.

THE GOOD NEWS FROM SERVIA

WE cannot refrain from reprinting these verses written by James Mason Neale on hearing that the Serb Synod had authorized the communion of an English priest in emergency. They appeared in the *Church Times*, August, 1865:

"Peace I leave you: My peace give I to you:
Not as this world giveth give I peace:
For the Paraclete that shall renew you
He shall make all brethren's quarrels cease."

O, sweet rainbow, yearn'd for long and dearly,
That some day One Only Church shall span,
Dim and broken, and incipient merely,
Yet not less God's covenant with man:

What are we that we should see thee faintly
  Gleaming on our dark tempestuous sky?
Thee, whom seers, confessors, doctors saintly
  Did so long for, would have dared to die?

We shall never see thy perfect beauty;
  We shall never trace thy sevenfold form
Others' be the triumph—ours the duty;
  Others' be the sunshine—ours the storm.

None the less we do, we do behold thee—
  Thee, our wishes' full and perfect sum;
None the less our loving hopes enfold thee;
  We can suffer so thou wilt but come.

Show us, Lord, Thy work, our sons Thy glory;
  Yet of us, though that be all we ask,
May be said, perchance, in future story,
  "These were men that then did Union's task;

"Men whom satire could not move, and ban not:
  Men who *would* work on, and would not cease;
These were men who never said, 'I cannot!'
  These were men who prayed the Church to peace."

Yes! we flung the dastard question from us,
  "How—speak common sense—*can* this be done?
For we knew the everlasting promise,
  Father, *My* will is they *shall* be one!

So once more we hail thee, glorious vision!
  Though as yet saluting thee from far:
God, He grant us all thy full fruition
  On the other side the golden bar!

And, perchance, as years their course shall speed on,
  With those names whose memory cannot fade,
Ephesus, Nicæa, and Chalcedon,
  Holy Church may one day set Belgrade!

THE BOLSHEVIST "REVIVAL" OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

By Professor N. GLUBOKOVSKY

SOME kind of "Church Revolution" has taken place in Russia, and its authors loudly declare that it is a saving "revival" of the old dead Russian Church. Some people abroad are inclined to believe this, but how is it possible to admit such a strange wonder? All this "Church Revolution" has been arranged by, and till now depends exclusively upon, the active participation of the Bolsheviks, and they

deny all religion on principle, maliciously reject Christianity, and demoniacally persecute and destroy the Church; but "do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles" (Matt. vii. 16)?

Evidently the matter must be differently understood, and even in quite the opposite way. We will examine and throw light on the more established facts of this dark story.

What do they say about the "removal" of the Patriarch Tikhon? They zealously spread the report that the Primate himself renounced the throne under the influence of the "Church renovators," and thus left the direction free for the Bolshevik wolves in priestly clothing. All this is false and untrue. The enemies have for long intended and decided to destroy the Patriarch, but only waited for a convenient time until they found enough new Judases ready to betray him.[1]

When all that was necessary was quite prepared, they tried completely to isolate His Holiness Tikhon and deprive him of the possibility of action. On the established witness of a person who closely observed all events in Moscow and was near the Patriarch, with whom he frequently and openly conversed on the most important ecclesiastical questions, the final course of the whole process was as follows: Ten or fifteen days before the tragic epilogue they began all over Moscow to arrest all the prominent representatives of the hierarchy and clergy, who were most popular in Church circles, and especially energetic and conspicuously capable of attracting the masses by their oratorical talent and religious zeal. In this way there were "withdrawn," for example, the former Inspector of the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy, Bishop Flarion (Troitski), and the Archpriest of the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour, Alexander Khotovitski, who had served with the Patriarch in America. Then all the Patriarch's staff was arrested, and our informer saw only one of his officials left at liberty, who, however, could not communicate with the Patriarch. The latter was thus deprived of all possibility of intercourse with the outside world, being subjected to the strictest isolation. The Prelate standing at the helm of the Church was without any means of directing the ship of the Church during the

[1] For this reason it has for long been dangerous even to visit the Patriarch on matters connected with the business of the Church. In this way a relative of mine suffered who went to him to ask for explanation in some affair, but fell into the trap and was arrested and kept on the strictest regime without permission to receive any visits or communications. Later he was accused (*a*) of being an agent of the Patriarch in connection with monarchist organizations abroad; (*b*) of having served in the army of Yudenich; (*c*) of being in relation with the monarchist organization of Markov II. and often having couriers from him from Berlin. All these were mad lies, but the unfortunate man was detained for two months in close Bolshevik confinement, where he had typhus and nearly died. Then, half dead, he was set free until his trial, but was deprived of all means of subsistence and allowed temporary freedom to die of hunger, and all only because the man had to see the Patriarch Tikhon on business.

most dreadful storm, threatening terrible wreck. He was like a captain cut off on his vessel from the propelling machine, which is still accessible to his assistant, and who therefore gives the command over to him. It was just so with the Patriarch, who only left his administrative authority to the lawful substitute appointed by the All-Russian Church Council in case of the vacancy of the Patriarchal throne for one reason or another (death, illness, suspension under accusation), because his *locum tenens* would have a certain amount of freedom, and consequently could carry on the ecclesiastical affairs with unhindered authority. For the good and the preservation of his Church the Patriarch performed a self-sacrificing act of temporary self-limitation which, in the normal order of things, should have ended, of course, with *restitutio in integram*. The Bolsheviks and their tools took advantage of this to confine the Patriarch in complete imprisonment together with real criminals and prepare for him a martyr's fate, from which perhaps only the active interference of the whole Christian world can save him. However, of this there is little hope, but without doubt the light shone forth and still shines from Golgotha: "The Son of man goeth as it is written of him; but woe unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed; it had been good for that man if he had not been born" (Matt. xxv. 24).

Just this same "betrayal" is repeated with all the necessary refutations and fateful consequences. It follows hence that, being the closest "fellow-workers" in the overthrow of the Patriarch, the Church Bolshevik reformers cannot be apostles of "ecclesiastical renovation." All this is incontrovertible also by reason of the individual qualities of the chief actors in the collective betrayal.

At their head stands Antonin (Granovski), a master of the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy, a man of unbridled egoism, perverted mind, and wilful temper. All through his life he has been at war with the world around him because he is at continual warfare with himself, but cannot crucify the flesh with its stormy passions and coarse lusts, in the most literal sense. His whole service has been attended by complications, unpleasantnesses, and scandals. When he was Inspector his pupils tried to blow him up by placing powder in the stove; a lady calling to see him on business escaped from him by jumping out of the window; but after his fall he saved himself through the beneficent indulgence of the ecclesiastical authorities by means of repentance and humiliation. Antonin has always tried to get ahead by some noisy extravagance, and even in 1905 he hoped to rise on the revolutionary wave, omitting in church the title of Autocrat and writing in the papers against monarchism on the ground of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. After the Revolution he could not manage to come to the fore, and he tried to "make a career" through the Patriarch; but notwithstanding

all the intolerable presumption of his claims (*e.g.*, to the post of Exarch of the Patriarch in the Ukraine), he constantly met with calm resistance for his evident unsuitability even for the part of Academical Lector on the Old Testament, for even without the presence of women it was impossible to listen to his too "plain-spoken" comments. Then Antonin took to treachery, and was rightly called by a secular paper (*Novoe Vremya*) "depraved and base," and has been degraded and excommunicated by the Supreme Church Administration abroad. He is simply an agent of the Bolshevik Extraordinary Commission in the Church Department; he is instructed to see that there should be no religious symbols even in private business premises;[1] he occupies himself in annulling fundamental doctrines of Christianity (*e.g.*, of the seedless conception and of the perpetual virginity of Mary, the Mother of God); and together with his associates he works in the Commission organized by them for "cleansing the hierarchy" from its old counter-revolutionary elements. If we add to this the attempt to change the Slavonic language of the Church services for the coarse Russian speech of the "proletariat" and to introduce secular verses into the service, this exhausts and fully characterizes Antonin's reforms in the revival of the Church, which have earned for him such consideration from the "faithful people" that he is called by them only by the nickname of "Judas," and even in Moscow he has sometimes to seek safety under the protection of the Bolshevik militia.

Another promoter of the Church Revolution, Leonid (Skobeev), furnishes a continuous and unpleasant anecdote. This is a man already old and with a long and dark past. On leaving the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy he somehow took military service and reached the rank of captain, but he had unexpectedly to leave the service, and decided to mend his career in the monastic life. At this time the Rector of the Petrograd Ecclesiastical Academy was Bishop Nicander (Molchanov), who had been a comrade of Leonid's in the Seminary, and through whom he entered as a student in an exceptional manner, although in the examination he gave the most incredible answers, stating, for example, that the Babylonian captivity took place in the Middle Ages. At first he succeeded in finding a post as teacher, and even tried to distinguish himself in the learned profession, appropriating to himself a particular scientific dissertation written by a dead colleague; but through his ignorance he could not make complete use of it, because, for instance, the German name "Kiel" he read and understood as the Russian "Kiev." Then Leonid wandered about in different monasteries, and only lately, through the compassionate mediation of a too lenient Metropolitan, was raised to the Episcopate

[1] Formerly there were icons in shops and all places of business, often with hanging lamps burning before them. (Trans.)

"to console his declining years." All his Church "renovation" is confined to the foolishness of desiring to adorn his stupid and wicked grey head with the cowl of a Metropolitan through the atheistic dictators.

No higher could the renovators from among the white clergy be rated. Two are more or less known to us. The chief of them is the Petrograd priest Alexander Vredenski, a man with a University education, and of secular, not quite Russian (probably Jewish), extraction. By unknown means he attained to clerical rank, and acquired no little popularity by extremely excitable, passionate speeches and all kinds of eccentricity—for example, falling down on the ground at the consecration of the sacred elements as though in spiritual transport—which reached such a degree that he declared that he had actually been in heaven and seen the Lord Jesus Himself. Vredenski formed various Women's Guilds, with special distinctions of dress, and led them on to sectarian exaltation and widespread advertisement, so that he was frequently invited to different churches. Vredenski's religion appeared to be sincere, but affected and unnatural. However, he had for long entertained relations with the Bolshevik tyrants, and tried to persuade the ecclesiastical rulers to reconciliation with them, sometimes succeeding in this. If he now continues to be, or begins to be, sincere, he still has not even true religious fanaticism, but only unhealthy hysteria. There was here perverted sterile bloom (in the style of the famous Iliodor). He has absolutely no new contribution to make, and can give not the least renovation to the Church, having fallen into servile, atheistic Bolshevism.

Another reformer is the Petrograd Archpriest Krasnitski. He was a candidate of theology of the Petrograd Ecclesiastical Academy, but his priesthood was still a subject of surprise to all the teachers. Krasnitski's teaching of religion in the Girls' Institutes was not a success, and his service as parish priest was always connected with various incidents in which he came into collision with his brother priests, and with the members of the Parish Council, and with the choir, and with the congregation. This was accounted for by the fact that Krasnitski was simply a disagreeable, dissatisfied seeker, well prepared by his unsuccessful past to bring about collisions "to an all-Russian extent," with the participation of the Bolsheviks and for their sake.

The other priests are quite insignificant and unknown, whose very names are ignored by all but themselves. They have issued from obscurity like worms from the dungheap after rain. In any case, they are ecclesiastical nonentities, and joined to the men of negative importance described above. They only add to the negativeness, neither having nor giving any positive material. Therefore, all together, the

falsely so-called reformers can only act negatively—that is, on the side of the destruction of that which exists positively.

For any sort of creative genius there are not even potential chances, and thus destruction is denuded of its own independence, for which a positive programme is essential and for renewers is essentially inaccessible and unattainable. This means that they cannot act autonomously, and thinking to serve towards the reconciliation of the Church and the Bolsheviks, actually become and act as their absolute slaves. Inasmuch as Bolshevism is in principle atheistic, such obsequiousness must necessarily lead them to the destruction of Church life, and therefore the announced "renovation of the Church" must inevitably lead to its abolishment in all its elements and forms. This is absolutely indisputable theoretically, and is already clearly justified with concrete irresistibility. Guiding all the "renovating Church movement" which conforms to them, the Bolsheviks consider that they have the right to define its qualificative value and final object. And here is their cynically frank voice (in a leading article in the Bolshevik paper, *The Moscow Workman*): "The Church counter-revolution must be crushed. It is the last stand of the bourgeois landed proprietor's reaction. The old mediæval, serf, monarchical Church is passing through its last days. We must hasten its ruin in order to destroy the last counter-revolutionary organization in the territory of the Soviet Republic. With this, of course, we cannot stop. We shall continue the struggle against all religious prejudice and superstition. *Our task is not to revive, but to abolish every Church, all religion.* But this problem can be finally solved by the future Communistic Society. A very long road lies before us. '*The revival of the Church*,' which is being carried on by the progressively and democratically disposed part of the clergy and parishioners, '*is only one of the first stages on the road to the freedom of the labouring mass in Russia from under the power of the Church and religious stupefaction.*' It clears the way for us, and we are *therefore* interested in the victory of the 'living Church.' But the old Church, declared to be dead, is not yet quite dead. *It* must be finally done to death. The Church counter-revolution must be overcome at any price."

These are the ideals, the perspectives, aims, and means which are cherished, disposed of, and, may be, used by the Russian Church revivers. These are really obscure nonentities and obviously degenerate and pitiful, ambitious persons. Although I do not know such, yet I do not deny the possibility of there being really deluded visionaries and self-deceived abnormal people. Nevertheless, that in no way alters the case in principle or in fact. Declaring themselves the servants of the "proletariat" and its defenders, these unhappy renovators become the executive instrument of the godless, anti-

Christian, Satanic International, and "whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin" (John viii. 34), for he is "of the devil" (1 John iii. 8), who is "a murderer, a liar, and the father of it" (John viii. 44). And therefore when these people say that they are forming, organizing, and creating a "living Church," is it not clear that here before us is the long since condemned "synagogue of Satan" (Rev. ii. 9; iii. 9)?

And for the "old Church"—not dead, but brutally stricken by the criminal indifference of the whole cultivated Christian world—the truly holy words of my pupil, the Metropolitan Benjamin (Kazanski) of Petrograd, may serve as a sufficient testimony of her present state and disposition. On hearing the sentence of death pronounced on him, with the greatest humility and simplicity he said to the godless malefactors: "My soul belongs to God, my heart to the Russian people, and with my mortal body do what you will."

And when I compare this worthy martyr's confession with the Bolshevik clamour of the International Church scandal-mongers, can I have the least doubt, not as to where the truth lies, but as regards the fact on which side will be the victory of the truth?

Naturally, among all the other great evils which Russia owes to the Pilate of the universal participation in the Bolshevik tyranny, this is also no little trial for the Christian soul in its inner depths, but without hesitation I can repeat with St. Athanasius of Alexandria the words he spoke when banished: "This is a little cloud; it will pass."

THE "TURKISH NATIONAL CHURCHES"

By J. A. DOUGLAS

MOST people laughed last year when the Turkish Bureau at Lausanne solemnly announced that the surviving Orthodox of Kemalist Asia Minor had discovered themselves to be true Turks and not Greeks, and revolting from the Œcumenical Patriarch, had formed themselves into a Turkish National Orthodox Church. But everyone who knew anything of the Ottoman system realized that the joke had a sinister point. The Turk may be the delicious simpleton which French publicists describe him to be. I have not found him so. If he is a fool, he is a very far-seeing and a very clever fool. Mustapha Kemal doubtless shook with a rich chuckle when the Angoran Parliament decreed the erection of its Church, bastinadoed poor Papa Eftim into being its unconsecrated Bishop,[1] and ordered the unhappy Orthodox *rayah* to adhere to it; but it must have been a sardonic chuckle such as he enjoyed subsequently when he covered the sack of Christian Smyrna by burning it in the name of its murdered inhabitants.

[1] Three metropolitans who fell into Kemal's power are said to have consecrated him.

What is the fable which Kemal publishes to explain his Church? He tells us that the wicked Œcumenical Patriarchate had deluded the ignorant Orthodox of Asia Minor as to their race. In truth these people are not Greeks at all. They are pure Turks. Their forefathers immigrated in the bad old days of the Byzantine Empire, were more or less converted to Christianity, lost their true patriotism, forgot their origin, and so came to think of themselves as Greeks. Witness the fact that their vernacular is good Turkish. To-day, Kemal rejoices to assure us, that sad fantasy is dissipated. Like men who awake from an evil dream, the Orthodox of his dominion have been stirred by the stimulus of his beneficent rule to rediscover their true nationality and proper position in the scheme of things. Thus they hate the very name of Greek, realize the infamy of their intriguing priests and Bishops, revile their Patriarch, admit that their relatives who have been done to death with indescribable outrage and torture suffered a righteous punishment for their sins against their Nation, abominate Great Britain and the Allies, and long to expiate their crimes by a proper traditional helotage to the pleasures and profit of their Moslem brother Turks and masters. Therefore they have fashioned themselves —let it be carefully noted, altogether of their own free will—into an independent autocephalous and purely Turkish Church. If they cannot get Bishops in any other way, they will become Uniate. No one shall stop them from renouncing once and for all any connection with that abominable, rebellious, Œcumenical Patriarchate which has dared to claim that a Christian man has a right to be free or a Christian girl a right to weep on being taken into a Moslem harem. For their part, they are proud to be the *rayah*, the cattle of the Khalif and his Moslem subjects! They desire passionately to feed them with their flesh and to clothe them with their wool. If their property, their service, their womenkind are required by them, they rejoice to be the ministers of their pleasure or their need. They agree that it is right and desirable that they should become Moslems if permitted, but that once they have professed Islam, a return to Christianity is justly to be punished by death. Bayezid, Mohammed II., and Selim I. were great men, and they venerate them; but Abd-ul-Hamid, Talaat, Enver, and Kemal, who have rectified those old chieftains' errors of sparing the lives of mere Greeks because they were useful, are their true heroes. They are Turks, body, soul, and spirit, and burn with eagerness to purge their land of everything which is un-Turkish and non-Moslem.

Such is the Kemalist fable and such are its implications. What are the facts? It may be true that, eight hundred years or so ago, here and there in Asia Minor a band of heathen Turkish mercenaries accepted Christianity, settled down, and were received as fellow-citizens by the Greek people of the land. My friend Mr. Hakluyt

Egerton has found a passage in a mediæval writer to justify that possibility. But such cases can only have been small drops in a big bucket. The grim fact is that when the Moslem Turk began to stamp with his foot upon the life of Asia Minor, it was the most populous as well as the richest and most civilized country in Christendom. Except for the Armenian, it was altogether Byzantine "Roman"—*i.e.*, Greek—in national consciousness, and Orthodox in religion. Even under Turkish tyranny the Greek race has proved itself fertile. Elsewhere it is prolific. If it has dwindled in its homelands, the reason is recorded by many a horror-stricken traveller of modern times. Whither then did some fourteen to twenty million Greeks of Asia Minor disappear between the eleventh and the twentieth centuries? Tens and hundreds of thousands were incidentally massacred, but a farmer with no cattle is a poor creature, and the extirpation of his *rayah* has only recently become popular with the Turkish statesman. The answer hardly needs demonstration. The great majority of the people of Asia Minor succumbed to inexorable, unbearable oppression, apostatized to Islam, were denationalized, and became Turks.

Incidentally that is why to "camouflage" themselves the relatively few who were true to the reproach of the Cross in their ignorance and misery forgot the Greek tongue, and their scant remnant to-day speak Turkish. That is why all over the full area of that sad land you will find villages where the folk are called Turks and Moslems in public, but in secret assure themselves that they are Christians and Greeks. Only in Smyrna, Giaour Smyrna, and in Ionia and Pontus was the Christian and Greek tradition strong enough to remain dominant.

The indisputable fact is not that the Greek Orthodox of Asia Minor are Turks by race, but that the large majority of Turks are Greeks.

The cool effrontery of the argument on which Kemal masked the foundation of his Church deceived no one. Everybody laughed at it, thought it rather silly, if smart, and said, "Just like the Turk."

There is no doubt now, however, that what seemed buffoonery was very purposeful. Let us see what was its far-seeing objective.

In 1921 many forces had set themselves definitely, some in coalition, some independently, to place Constantinople, Thrace, Smyrna, and Ionia at the discretion of Kemal and his men. France and Italy had made their secret bargain with him. Bolshevik Russia and Bolshevik Labour in Europe were his avowed allies. The Indian Moslems had been persuaded by the English friends of the Turks to care about his cause. Other powerful occult influences were working on his side. We were sublimely unconscious of that confederation. Kemal naturally was not. He knew that, if he could fend off King Constantine's rash offensive, the spring of 1922 would see him with an army trained, equipped, and officered in first-class fashion by French and Italian

unofficial agencies. With the military forces at his back he was certain to defeat the Greeks. Then he would demand a free hand to govern Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Thrace. Those who willed him to have them would see that he got them. Except by the British Government, no attempt would be made to gainsay them and him. If it talked of doing so, the Bolshevik tail of British Labour and the energetic British pro-Turk would easily be able to paralyze its action.

Now, it is the greatest mistake in the world to reckon Mustapha Kemal to be simply a murderous brigand. Like Abd-ul-Hamid, Talaat, and Enver before him, he is probably a bit of a fanatic, possessed by the same obsession as those gentry. His ambition is the glory of completing the national task, begun by them, of making Turkey safe for the Turk by the final extirpation of the Christian *rayah*. Since the dead give no trouble, the surest instrument of Turkification is the red death of the bullet and the knife or the white death of deportation. Nobody can accuse Kemal of remissness in the use of both. Wherever he has swung his sword the *rayah* have ceased to be.

A convincing testimonial of his thoroughness has been given by the splendidly indignant American Relief agents who quitted his territory last spring because they could find none to relieve.

But, after all, in the modern world lip-service must be paid to the decent conventions of humanity, and while Kemal's Christian and other well-wishers could throw a kindly mantle of exoneration over his successes once accomplished, they could not be expected to rise nakedly to the height of putting him in free possession to burn (let alone the Thracian and Ionian countryside) the great Christian cities of Constantinople and Smyrna. He would have to concede the right of their majorities to live, and it was possible that Great Britain might see to it that any guarantees, wrung from him to that effect, were more than scraps of paper. If the British Fleet cannot go to the Taurus, it can reach the Bosphorus. Besides, the self-same forces which flatter themselves in using him as their puppet to-day, may by and by find their mistake, and in their changed mood discover a passionate zeal for the cause of the Christian *rayah*. Has not France itself a cherished prerogative to speak for Christianity in the Near East?

Therefore, the annihilation of the *rayah* being probably impracticable, the next best expedient had to be prepared. Obviously that would be their expatriation, but there again formal hindrances were certain. To uproot some millions of people from their ancestral environment is no small undertaking. Massacre could not be threatened openly as the alternative. Moreover, France and Italy might be relied on not to part with possible pawns for ensuring his future subordination. Expatriation being very doubtful of achievement, there remained the third and excellent expedient of disintegration.

Now, the secret of the survival of the Christian *rayah* under Turkish tyranny has been the Capitulations, granted by the early Turkish conquerors and confirmed by Mahommed II., after the sack of Constantinople in 1453.

By those Capitulations, although subject to such oppressive laws as that which enacted a blood tax for Islam of one out of every seven male children under five each five years, and clamped down in an underworld of helotage, the *rayah* were given the right to live and to possess property. Moreover, and as the most convenient way of governing them, they were formed, after the immemorial system of the East, into *millets*—*i.e.*, communities of their own. Further, the real contrast between the Turk and his *rayah*, as we have pointed out, being not racial, but religious and cultural, there has never been a distinction between their ecclesiastical and national characters: to belong to the Orthodox or Armenian *millet* has always been tantamount to being a Greek or an Armenian and *vice versa*. Viewed in one aspect the Orthodox and Armenian *millets* are Churches. Viewed in the other they are subject nations. Accordingly each of these organizations, though bilateral for ecclesiastical and secular functions, is a unity, the centre and symbol of its Government being respectively the Œcumenical Patriarchate and the Armenian Patriarchate.

No evil dreams disturbed the complacent security of the immediate successors of Mahommed II. They could interpret or abolish the Capitulations as they willed. The situation was changed, however, when, on the decline of the Turkish power, Europe—and especially Orthodox Russia—began to take a protecting interest in the lives and liberty of the *rayah*. Treaty after treaty these two centuries past not only pledged the Turk to respect the Capitulations, but gave Europe the formal right and duty to see that they were respected.

Thus before the war the Greeks and Armenians of Turkey were organized into communities with charters guaranteed and upheld by the Concert of Europe. To get rid of these communities with their Capitulations, Kemal has conceived the idea of the Turkish National Church. If the Greek Army had not crashed, and he had been placed in Constantinople under tutelage and restriction, it would have been a brilliantly clever idea. Now he need hardly hide the tongue in his cheek as he gives promises for the well-being of his Christian minorities.

The scheme of his Turkish Church will be worked as follows: He will solemnly assure the Peace Conference that he has no objection to the existence of native Christians in Turkey. On the contrary, he rejoices in it—provided they be good Turkish compatriots. The one thing he will not tolerate is the Œcumenical or Armenian Patriarchate. These criminally welcomed the Allies to Constantinople and betrayed Turkey to them. If he lays hands on the Patriarchs, their bishops, and

other accomplices, he will give them short shrift for their treachery, and will handle them as Nur-ed-Din handled the Metropolitan Chrysostom in Smyrna. Let them look to themselves and be off before he comes. As for their people, those who wish to purge themselves of their guilt will do so by repudiating them utterly. Let them enrol themselves in the Turkish National Church. That will be the acid test of their repentance.

Nothing is more unlikely than that, with the cards in his hands, Kemal will agree to amnesty the Greeks and Armenians of Constantinople and Thrace. Nothing is more certain than that, even though he amnestied them and subscribed the most elaborately drawn guarantees for their protection, a Turkish accident would wipe them out. Once he got them in his grip, it would be only a matter of time for them to "rebel" or assassinate themselves, or perish Smyrniate fashion in a fire of their own kindling. Britain would be indignant perhaps, but Europe would accept his story, and the motley band of British pro-Turks would see to it that Great Britain did not punish him. Even if she did, the problem of the *rayah* would have been settled, and at last Constantinople, Thrace, and Asia Minor, though but burnt out shambles, would be all Turkish.

Therefore, if Great Britain has, as is said, advised the *rayah* to choose expatriation as the less villainous of Kemal's alternatives, she has done the best thing possible. Every Greek and Armenian should be given the opportunity of escaping while there is time. Eight hundred years ago, in the days of the Latin Crusaders' triumph, the Œcumenical Patriarchate found sanctuary, and waited the passing of the barbarity in Nicea, the city of the Creed. So now it is best that it should go forth again from Constantinople, and take refuge in Mount Athos or some sure place. The life of the Orthodox Church must be carried on.

Papa Eftim, consecrate or unconsecrate, will in that case take possession of the Phanar, and usurp the jurisdiction of the Throne of St. Chrysostom and St. Gregory. New Rome will be destitute of Christians, except for those Greeks and Armenians who may trust to escape the risk of remaining by renouncing the Church of their fathers and accepting him as their Patriarch.

As members of the Turkish National Church, however, they will be Turks, and, according to international law, their fate will be no proper concern of anyone except their new nation.

That they will not necessarily be in security might be inferred from the appended extract, which I commend to the reading of all British workers in the Kemalist cause. I imagine that even M. Franklin-Bouillon, Professor Toynbee, the *Daily Mail*, and other fuglemen, would find it stupidly outspoken. It comes from the London *Muslim*

Standard. The mistakes in spelling and fact, as well as its mentality, denote its Moslem origin. It runs:

"PAPA EFTEIN AND THE GREEKS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

"We are glad to hear that the Greeks of Constantinople, otherwise Ottoman subjects, who during these four post-armistice years have played no enviable part in furthering irreligious and evil intrigues of the Greek Archbishop in the Turkish Metropolis are after all recovering their common sense after the débâcle of their confrères in Asia Minor and hopelessness of all attempts to revive the dead and forgotten glory of the ancient Byzantine Empire. This re-awakening does not seem to be unforseen, but what is certainly reassuring in the news is the fact that they are getting sick of the political activities of the head of their Church who is the principal party responsible for a vast amount of suffering caused to these stupid and credulous Greeks. Latest despatches from the Near East bring the welcome news that they have broken all relations with the self-made Archbishop of Greek Church in Constantinople, Meletios V., and have sent a long prayer to Papa Etteim, head of the Turkish National Church in Anatolyia, for affiliation to his fold. In order to remove all doubts about their intentions they have despatched a copy of the prayer to the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, in which they particularly point out that they sever their connection for ever from the religious or secular heads of the Greek State. We trust these misguided Greeks will adhere to this promise and will in this way atone for their waywardness in the past. It cannot be denied that Greeks' share in the guilt of the Allied enormities in Constantinople, contrary to the Articles of the Armistice, is easily the largest, those of the Armenians and other Levantine half-castes who infest Constantinople, coming as the second worst, and there could be no better expiation of their crimes than an immediate disavowal of their relations with the self-styled priests and patriarchs of the Greek Church. But if they are merely thinking to escape the penalty of their past misdeeds by making this profession and donning a fez, to throw up both at the first favourable opportunity, then we will advise the authorities of the Nationalist Government to beware of these jackals. Turks have suffered long and cruelly chiefly owing to the treacheries of their non-Muslim fellow-subjects, and **no crocodile tears should now be permitted to blur the only way of dealing with these pests**. *Verb. sap.*

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.—We have again been obliged to hold over much interesting matter, and can only record a few of the many noteworthy events of the past three months.

The Athens Government has recognized the election of Meletios IV., with whom the Athens ecclesiastical authorities are expected soon to be reconciled.

The Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira was enthronized in St. Sophia, Bayswater, on Sunday, July 9, Bishop Browne representing the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Bishop Gore was asked to deliver an address at the Pannychidi for the Smyrna martyrs after the Liturgy in St. Sophia on Sunday, October 15.

The Metropolitan Evlogie of Volhynia, who has supervision of all Russian congregations in the West of Europe, celebrated the Liturgy in the presence of Bishop Gore, who preached the sermon, and of the Metropolitan Germanos, in St. Philip's, Pimlico, on Wednesday, October 15, the occasion being the sixteenth anniversary of A. and E. A. English and Greek, as well as Slavonic, were used in the Liturgy. A very large congregation crowded the church. In the afternoon of the same day the Guildhall Council Chamber was crowded at a meeting over which the Bishop of London presided, and at which the Metropolitans Germanos and Evlogie were present. The speeches will be given in A. and E. A.'s annual report. That of the Metropolitan Germanos, which dealt with Reunion, appeared in full in the *Church Times*, October 28. In the evening Mr. Athelstan Riley gave a dinner to the Metropolitans at the Athenæum Club.

THE AUTOCEPHALY OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF GEORGIA

By Pce. Ilamaz DADESHKELIANI

(*Concluded from p. 73.*)

BUT, to the great credit of the Georgian clergy, it must be said that, however high they held the banner of the autocephaly of their Church, they never protested in such form as could damage the interests and prestige of Orthodoxy in the Caucasus, where so many different religions and confessional interests clash. On the contrary, whilst denying the right of the Russian Synod to usurp the prerogatives of the autocephalous Georgian Church, the Georgian clergy—in all that could serve the cause of the extension and strengthening of Orthodoxy in the Caucasus—gave their energy to common action with the Russian clergy; as examples of this, the missionary propaganda among the Osset Highlanders (begun under King David, the Reconstructor, in the XIIth century, and continued in the XVIIIth century by Bishop John of Manglissi and others) was carried on by the Georgian clergy under and in co-operation with the Synodal Exarchate.

The most decisive form of protest against the illegal régime to which the Georgian Church was subjected was the appeal addressed by the Georgian episcopate, clergy, and laity to the Œcumenical Patriarch in 1907, when the oppression of the Georgian bishops and higher clergy took the character of real persecution. In this appeal the Georgian Church begged the Œcumenical Patriarch to defend her violated rights.

In 1906, in connection with the political and moral crisis which Russia was then experiencing, the question of the convocation of a Council of the Russian Church came up. A special preliminary Commission, under the direction of the Synod, was created to prepare material for this Council. However strong was the desire of the Synod and of the Government to eliminate the question of the autocephaly of the Georgian Church, they were obliged, nevertheless, to include this question in the programme of the preliminary Commission, creating a special subcommission *ad hoc*.

The Georgian bishops, animated by the spirit of Christian peace and love, and hoping in this way perhaps to obtain the restoration of the rights of their Church, decided to take part in the meetings of the preliminary Commission, and to defend therein the interests of the Georgian Church; they were assisted by Professors Marr and Tsagareli, the greatest authorities on Georgian history.

But everything was done to obstruct the discussion of the question of the autocephaly of the Georgian Church in the preliminary Commission, and the Georgian delegation withdrew from it.

* * * * *

At the end of February, 1917, the change in the Russian Government took place.

By a declaration issued March 12, 1917, by the Georgian episcopate, clergy, and laity the Orthodox Church of Georgia returned to her autocephalous existence. On March 27, the Russian Provisional Government published the law "Concerning the Regulation of the Juridical Consequence relative to the Re-establishment of the Autocephaly of the Ancient Orthodox Church of Georgia," by which law the Russian State Power restored to the Orthodox Church of Georgia the power of exercising her ancient autocephaly. On July 25, 1917, were published the "Temporary Rules concerning the Situation of the Georgian Church in the Russian State."

As stated at the beginning of this article, these two laws of the Provisional Government created a régime of coexistence in the Russian State of two Orthodox Churches—the Russian and the Georgian—conserving, pending the convocation of the Russian Constituent Assembly, the control of the Government over the confessional organizations existing under the Empire. But the law of March 27, as well as the "Temporary Rules" of July 25, were the result of a compromise between a sincere desire to re-establish rights of the Georgian Church and the fear of changing too radically the order of things which had, *de facto*, resulted from its hundred years' enforced subjection to the Russian Synod.

Being the result of a compromise, these two laws presented considerable drawbacks and internal contradictions; while proclaiming the re-establishment of the autocephaly of the Orthodox Georgian Church, and intended to restore *status quo ante*, they gave the principles which they proclaimed an incomplete and irregular embodiment.

Evidently desiring to avoid dissension regarding settlement of territorial limits between the Russian and Georgian Orthodox Churches in Transcaucasia, and not wanting to give any territorial basis whatever to the national aspirations of the Georgians, the Provisional Government, rather unexpectedly, granted to the Georgian Church (which they were in principle re-establishing in its rights) a species of autocephaly quite new to this Church, and utterly unknown to Orthodox canonical law—a *national, non-territorial* autocephaly.

The *inconsistency* of this system, from the *logical* as well as from the *canonical* point of view, is evident. *From the logical*, because the re-establishment of her *status quo ante*, such as existed before the intervention of the Russian laic power, being intended, the Georgian

Church, being *territorial*, possessed a *territory within which* she ought to have been re-established. And *from the canonical*, because this expedient created a situation directly contrary to the fundamental principles of Orthodox Canon Law, inasmuch as it permitted the extension over the same territory of two autocephalous Orthodox authorities—the Russian and the Georgian Churches.

The intervention of one bishop in the diocese (*territorial* domain) of a fellow-bishop, or the interference of any ecclesiastical authority (Metropolitan, Patriarch,[1] or Synod) in the territorial domain of an equal and corresponding ecclesiastical authority, is most strictly prohibited by the decisions of Œcumenical Councils (" there shall not be two bishops in one town "). At the same time, from a lay point of view, if the basis of the organization of the Orthodox Churches is a territorial unity—the diocese—the extension of the jurisdiction of two equal and mutually independent ecclesiastical authorities over the same territory is incomprehensible, and suggests a difference in confession or a schism.

The Orthodox Church admits exceptions to this fundamental rule only in regard to the legations of one Patriarch or head of a Church on the territory of another autocephalous Church, and also sometimes for single parishes or monasteries, for local or historical reasons. The existence of a *whole, non-territorial*, local Church is utterly unknown to the Canon Law.

The laws of the Provisional Government, however, being the Acts of a laic power, were absolutely devoid of *any canonical* importance, and had meaning only so far as by them the Russian State Power withdrew the forcible and anti-canonical pressure by which it had a hundred years before deprived the Orthodox Georgian Church of the power to exercise her autocephalous rights, and in as far as they re-established her *status quo ante*.[2]

The Georgian Church, animated by the desire to regulate her situation in the spirit of Christian peace and love, accepted—even in the defective way in which it was given to her—the possibility of exercising her rights, taking into consideration the temporary character of the laws of the Provisional Government.

In September, 1917, the Council of the Orthodox Church of Georgia assembled. This Council confirmed the declaration of March 12, and the Acts of the temporary Government of the Georgian Church, established the foundation of her organization, elaborated and adopted

[1] Several dioceses form a composed diocese, the Metropoly or Patriarchate, over which extends the jurisdiction of the senior bishop, the Metropolitan, or higher in the limits of a local Church, the Patriarch or Synod.

[2] Altering the ancient title of the head of the Georgian Church, " Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia," to " Catholicos-Patriarch of all the Georgians " (Article 5 of the " Temporary Rules ").

her canonical constitution, and elected as Catholicos-Patriarch the Bishop Kyrion, who, after the confirmation of his election by the Russian State Power (according to Article 6 of the "Temporary Rules"), ascended on October 1 of the same year to the Apostolic Catholicosal and Patriarchal Throne of Mtskheta and all Georgia, under the name of Kyrion II.

The canonical head of the Russian Church—the Holy Synod—preserved a complete silence on the question of Georgian autocephaly, not protesting in any whatever against its just re-establishment, or against the laws of the Provisional Government concerning this question.

Meanwhile the political horizon of Russia was becoming heavily clouded. In October the Council of the Russian Church assembled in Moscow, and had scarcely been opened when the Bolsheviks' *coup d'état* took place, and it had to continue its work in a city already occupied by them.

In spite of that it completed the great work of reorganizing the ecclesiastical government of the Russian Orthodox Church, and, having re-established the Patriarchal form of Church government, elected as Patriarch the Metropolitan Tikhon, who was enthroned on February 21, 1918.

It should be noted that the Council of the Russian Church preserved a silence as complete as the Holy Synod in regard to the re-establishment of the autocephaly of the Georgian Church.

About a month, however, after ascending the Russian Patriarchal Throne, the Patriarch Tikhon saw fit to address to the Georgian Catholicos-Patriarch an epistle against the re-establishment of the autocephaly of the Georgian Church.

In this epistle the Patriarch Tikhon quoted extracts from the rules of the Church, in condemnation of insubordination on the part of bishops towards their hierarchical superiors, and applied them to the re-establishment of the autocephaly of the Georgian Church. The Patriarch Tikhon thus accused the Georgian bishops of insubordination to—the Russian Exarch.

The publication of this epistle was all the more unexpected, because both the Holy Synod and the Council of the Russian Church had been passive on this question.

At the same time the Russian clergy in the Caucasus began to spread rumours to the effect that the Orthodox Patriarchs of the East—notably the Œcumenical Patriarch—"did not recognize" the autocephaly of the Georgian Church. Although there was no question of recognizing a new autocephaly, as this was only a case of the re-establishment of an ancient and already universally recognized autocephaly, and of the abolition of the anti-canonical Exarchial rule,

the Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia charged Mr. Gogolachvili to interview the Metropolitan Dorotheos, then Locum-Tenens of the Œcumenical-Patriarchal Throne. During the audience granted to Mr. Gogolachvili, the Locum-Tenens, as was only to be expected, categorically denied the above-mentioned rumour.

The Georgian Church did not consider it possible to enter into discussion with the Russian Patriarch on the clear and simple question of the re-establishment of her canonical rights, and therefore left the epistle of Patriarch Tikhon unanswered.

* * * * *

The present organization of the Orthodox Church of Georgia, as established by her last Council, may be summarized as follows:

The plenitude of the ecclesiastical power in the Georgian Church belongs to her Council, which meets periodically, and which rules the Church by the medium of the Catholicos-Patriarch, elected for life by the Council.

The Catholicos-Patriarch exercises his power in conjunction with the Catholicosal Council, which concentrates within itself the representation of the episcopate, clergy, and laity. The ecclesiastical-judicial power is exercised by the Catholicos-Patriarch through the intermediary of the Catholicosal Tribunal. The Catholicos-Patriarch renders account of his government to the Council of the Orthodox Church of Georgia.

The election of the Catholicos-Patriarch, as well as the nomination of the members of the Catholicosal Council and Tribunal, together with the functioning of these bodies, are regulated by the fundamental laws established by the Council of the Orthodox Church of Georgia.

The Georgian Church is divided into—

1. The Metropoly of Tiflis (with the auxiliary bishops of Gori and Alaverdi).
2. The Metropoly of Kutais.
3. The Metropoly of Tjkondidi.
4. The Archbishopric of Bitjvinta and Abkhasia.

Pending the decision of the Georgian question, the Russian parishes founded under the Exarchate remain, by common consent of the Russian and Georgian Orthodox Churches, under the administration of the Russian bishop residing in Bakon (Eastern Caucasus).

* * * * *

The Catholicos-Patriarch Kyrion II. died in the summer of 1918. In his place the Council of the Georgian Church elected as Catholicos-Patriarch Leonidas, Metropolitan of Tiflis.

Meantime the political life of the Georgian nation was rapidly developing. In 1918 (May 26) the independence of the Georgian State was re-established. In March, 1919, met the Constituent

Assembly of Georgia. One of the most important of the legislative Acts passed by this Assembly was the law of the separation of the Church from the State. In 1921 (January 27) the Powers recognized *de jure* the independence of Georgia, whose international status was thus definitely regulated. This independence had already before been recognized by Soviet Russia, which had concluded a treaty with Georgia (May 7, 1920).

In contempt of this treaty the Russian Soviet troops in February, 1921, without any pretext and without a declaration of war, crossed the Georgian frontiers in overwhelming numbers, and, notwithstanding the desperate resistance of the Georgian army and nation, occupied the territory of the Georgian Republic.

The national Government of Georgia, appointed by the Constituent Assembly and recognized by the Powers, was obliged to withdraw from Georgia and to continue abroad their efforts for the liberation of their country from foreign military occupation.

The Catholicos-Patriarch Leonidas I., as the good shepherd who leaves not his flock, remained in occupied Tiflis, where he died in the summer of 1921, the victim of an epidemic of cholera imported by the Russian Bolshevik troops.

The Catholicos-Patriarch Ambrose I., elected in his stead by the Council of the Georgian Church, seeing that the only salvation of his people lay in their liberation from foreign military occupation, fearlessly addressed (February 7, 1922) from occupied Tiflis a letter to the Conference at Genoa, in which he exposed the tragedy of the Georgian nation, demanding the withdrawal of the Bolshevik troops.

The sorely tried Georgian nation had not yet drained the chalice of her bitter sufferings. In these civilized times she has fallen victim to an invasion unsurpassed in barbarity by those of the Mongols and Tartars; but God has allowed her to face the trial of this invasion with her national Church firmly re-established in her ancient rights and with a great Georgian patriot at her head.

May God grant that to-day, as in ages past, the Georgian Church may still be the strength and stay of her nation, and show herself to be the self-same Church which for long centuries has given to the people of ancient Colchis the force to carry through countless trials the Golden Fleece of their spiritual and national culture.

THE CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA

A QUESTION was asked by Sir Robert Newman, M.P., in the House of Commons, August 2, 1922, whether it was a fact that the external nave of St. Sophia was occupied by soldiers and ammunition kept there. The answer was given on behalf of Lord Curzon that, in the opinion of the General Officer Commanding in Chief at Constantinople, the presence of a detachment of soldiers involves no additional risk, and possesses certain advantages.

This reads strangely in the light of the knowledge of the way in which other Greek churches have suffered from the Turkish soldiery.

The High Commissioner proposed to invite his French and Italian colleagues to consider with him the best way of securing that the building should not fall into decay, and they decided to invite the Minister of Evkaf to nominate a commission of European architects to report, and the Minister seemed to be willing to do so. The following report made to Sir Horace Rumbold by the Patriarchate on August 9 (O.S.) upon the examination of the building by an eminent French and British architect is of great interest, and reveals the imminent danger of the structure, confirming the result of an intimate inspection privately made by an English architect recently possessed of unusual facilities.

"CONSTANTINOPLE,
"*le 19/1 Août*, 1922.

"MONSIEUR LE HAUT COMMISSAIRE,

"En présence des rumeurs qui circulent dans le public et que confirment les avis d'architectes et d'archéologues compétents le Patriarcat Œcuménique a l'honneur d'attirer de nouveau l'attention de Votre Excellence sur l'état réellement dangereux de l'Eglise de Ste Sophie.

"En effet, il résulte d'observations récentes que au coin nord-est du tympan qui entoure la base de la coupole, le mur a deux fissures s'élargissant tous les jours davantage, par suite de l'infiltration eaux de pluie, et montrant tous les signes précurseurs d'une prochaine catastrophe.

"Pour se rendre compte de l'étendue du mal on doit regarder dans la direction nord-est vers le pendentif qui, avec les trois autres semblables, soutient la coupole et qui, privé de ses enduits sur plus d'un point, se trouve visiblement endommagé. Si ce pendentif venait à céder la coupole elle même s'effondrerait à son tour. Il s'agit du point le plus sensible du monument. Mais les fissures dont il s'agit ne sont pas les seules. Il semble que la couverture en plomb de la coupole centrale et des demi-coupoles ait aussi souffert gravement, car depuis deux ans on constate des chutes en masse d'enduits. Et si l'on considère que les admirables mosaïques que Fossati a vues adhérant à ces enduits actuellement recouverts de peinture jaune, on peut imaginer les conséquences de la destruction qui s'accomplit sans cesse.

"Aux vues d'ordre technique qui précedent, il y a lieu d'ajouter le danger qui résulte pour la solidité de l'Eglise des mesures *de précaution* que l'on a cru devoir prendre pour la sécurité de Ste Sophie, de la Kahrié et du Kalenderhané. On y a introduit, petit à petit, une force armée assez importante qui y réside constamment et qui a sous la main la quantité de munitions jugée nécessaire.

"En ce qui concerne plus particulièrement Ste Sophie le danger a encore augmenté ces derniers temps, car non seulement le narthex mais encore la loge des femmes ont été convertis en corps de garde et en dépôts d'armes. Il suffit de songer à la légereté du dôme pour comprendre qu'un simple hasard, la moindre explosion pourrait provoquer un malheur irréparable.

"Ce bref exposé indique surabondamment que, pour aller au plus pressé, et en attendant que commencent, dans un avenir qu'il faut souhaiter très prochain, les travaux de consolidation qui s'imposent, il conviendrait d'évacuer d'urgence l'Eglise des troupes qui y vivent et y préparent leur nourriture et faire en même temps détacher l'énorme lustre dont ni le poids ni l'élégance n'ont été prévus lords de la construction de la coupole.

"En terminant, le Patriarcat Œcuménique se permet d'espérer que Votre Excellence voudra bien s'intéresser personnellement à la conservation d'un monument qui dans un sens, est le bien commun de l'humanité civilisée et qui certes n'a pas été élevé, il y a quatorze siècles pour qu'un jour on y osât brûler autre chose que de l'encens en l'honneur de la Sagesse Divine et de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ.

"Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Haut Commissaire, les assurances de ma haute considération.

"LE PATRIARCHE ŒCUMÉNIQUE."

THE SERBIAN CHURCH STUDENTS AT OXFORD

OUR Hostel at St. Sava, which since we left Parks Road has been located at 19, Holywell, closes at the end of this term, the last three students having just obtained their Degrees. One regards the close of this undertaking with both satisfaction and regret. With regret because, as your readers are aware, our hope was that a Hostel for Eastern Orthodox Ordinands might become a permanent institution at Oxford, at which the students would be paid for from home sources, while English friends of the Orthodox Church might have continued to contribute something for providing the English Superior and something of the upkeep in order to make the cost come within their means. This hope was considerably strengthened when last autumn exactly the right house in Holywell was secured; but, alas! the state of foreign exchanges makes it impossible to send funds from Orthodox countries, and it would not be fair even to make the appeal for it in the present state of things in England. Indeed, in closing down we shall, it is feared, be about £300 in debt, so the disappointment must be borne by us all, including the Russians and Roumanians, who are anxious to send their men to Oxford. On the other hand, it may be regarded with the satisfaction due in a task which has been accomplished. The Hostel has achieved what it was intended to achieve; the men sent to us under War and post-War conditions have been maintained and educated and brought into touch with English social and religious life. Previous reports have recorded how we began in a small way, Bishop Nicholai Velimirovic and Mr. Fynes-Clinton getting

over from France four monastic students of high ability, who were placed under the invaluable care and spiritual influence of Father Bown, head of St. Stephen's house. After his death, Father Frere, C.R., and Father Hallward, C.R., most generously took on the responsibility, and, the numbers growing, the scheme received the sanction and hearty co-operation of the Serbian Church authorities, who commended it to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In order to carry out the larger task, the public Church Students' Aid Council was formed; and beside the maintenance at Oxford of selected students, we maintained some sixty younger seminarists at Cuddesdon and Dorchester until they could be returned to their own country. The Public Council failed to raise the necessary funds, and the work was resumed by a Sub-Committee of the Anglican and Eastern Association under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which has carried it on until now, with Mr. Athelstan Riley as Chairman, Mr. Eynes-Clinton as Secretary, and Archdeacon Bere-ford Potter as Treasurer. St. Stephen's House being required at the end of 1919 for English students, we rented a house in Parks Road for two years, and last November moved into one much more suited to the purpose at Holywell. Both these Hostels have been under the competent and energetic administration of the Rev. R. M. French, late Assistant Chaplain at Petrograd, who, by his previous knowledge of the Eastern Church and his personal sympathy with and influence over the men, will, we feel sure, be remembered by them all with gratitude. The academic work of the students was under the supervision of a Sub-Committee of Tutors under the Chairmanship of the Regius Professor, at first Canon Scott Holland, who grew to be deeply interested in and fond of the young Serbs and was buried with a Serbian Cross on his breast, and Dr. Headlam, who succeeded him, and has given generous time, care, and interest to the work. We must take the opportunity of giving our warmest thanks to all the tutors who have given their help, largely gratuitously, especially to Dr. Leighton Pullin, Dr. F. E. Brightman, Dr. R. L. Ottley, the Rev. L. Prestige, Dr. Kidd, and Mr. P. V. Benecke. Beside general studies they all entered the course for the Degree of Bachelor of Letters, because that only required two years' residence without Moderations, and of all who finished their course two only failed to get the Degree; but even in their case this by no means meant that they had not profited very fully by their studies. The total number has been twenty-two. Two of these died, including Y. Dimitrievié and the greatly loved D. Trifunović; some had to return to Serbia for various reasons without completing the course; only two who entered for the examination failed. It will be of interest to record the names of those who finished, with the subject and the thesis presented by each of those residing under Mr. French. Our first four monastic students were I. Georgević, J. Stoyanović, P. Yevtić, and J. Popović; these were joined by T. Andrić. All but J. Popović obtained their B.Litt. M. Arsić, "Durckheim's Conception of Religion"; M. Marić, "The Christology of St. Athanasius"; M. Pavlović, "St. Basil's Conception of Christian Monasticism"; M. Yanoshević, "The Problem of the Second Marriage of the Priests in the Eastern Orthodox Church"; M. Miletić, "The Substance and Method of Our Lord's Teaching viewed in the Light of Modern Educational and Psychological Thought"; M. Popović, "The Conception of Eternal Life, with Special Reference to the Johannine Writings"; M. Stoyanović, "The Teaching of Salvation in the Orations of St. Gregory Nazianzen." The above all obtained their Degrees. M. Pesić offered "The Theological Teaching of Justin Martyr," and M. Nukić "St. Paul's Conception of Christian Character," but the theses were not accepted. M. Panić is at the moment in his examinations in London University on architecture, especially ecclesiastical. All the others will be returning to their homes at the end of this month, and all who have so generously helped in the support of the undertaking may feel that much has been definitely accomplished, and they may hope and believe that the good results of this work will be felt in the future life both of the Yugo-Slav Church itself and its relations with the Church here in England. If any readers of the "CHRISTIAN EAST"

recognize the value of this work, and feel that they can help by some contribution, however small, toward making up the debt of some £300, with which we close owing to our subscribers being so hard hit by general conditions, it would be very gratefully received by the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, 27, Finsbury Square, E.C. 2.

We shall look in the years to come to hear of good work done by these men in the Church of their land. They leave many friends behind them at Oxford and elsewhere in England; though they leave our shores they will not leave our hearts, and the prayers of many will be that God will bless them and their future work in His service.

CONSTANTINOPLE LETTER

(*Held over from June* CHRISTIAN EAST, *June* 22.)

THE enthronement of Meletios IV. as Archbishop of Constantinople and Œcumenical Patriarch passed off with great *éclat* and amidst scenes of the wildest enthusiasm. Never have I witnessed such indescribable excitement since I first arrived here over twelve years ago—Meletios is unmistakably the chosen one of the overwhelming majority of Byzantines. His allocution on the occasion, published elsewhere in your magazine, was hailed as unequalled for its eloquence and noble sentiments: His Holiness is winning steadily, and in the long run the Athens Synod will have to climb down and give him their whole-hearted recognition—it is only a matter of time and political events.

No sooner is he established in his see than the character and statesmanship of the man begins to shine out: things begin to be put straight; but there are no reprisals, but rather an honest attempt to heal the breach. It is decided that the whole of Macedonia shall be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Athens, Thrace remaining under Constantinople, but before this is done the Metropolitan of Trebizond, who was the leader of the revolting Constantinists, is translated to the See of Marronia in Macedonia, thus making for peace and placing him under a jurisdiction congenial to him. It seems to be a wise and charitable step.

The filling of long-vacant sees has led to a general shuffling of the cards, and we are losing the two English-speaking clergymen at Phanar: Dionysios Menas, Chief Secretary of the Holy Synod, becomes Metropolitan of Vourla, near Smyrna, while Kyrillos Aphendoulides, the Great Ecclesiarches, who was in deacon's Orders, has been consecrated to be Metropolitan of the Dardanelles. Both are worthy men, and we wish them God-speed.

With reference to the transfer of Macedonia to Athens, it is interesting to mark that when the same thing happened to Thessaly the existing Diocesans were allowed to keep the honorary title of Metropolitan, but at every vacancy the new holder of the see reverted to the proper title of Bishop. Probably the same will happen with Macedonia, and it is to be hoped so, as the making of every Diocesan Bishop under the Archbishops of Constantinople and Cyprus a Metropolitan leads to confusion in the West, produces here a situation analogous to the famous Gilbertian song, and so cheapens the dignity of the title.

A decision has been taken to modify the clerical dress, but I have not been told what the modification is to be. To wear the cassock and gown a few inches shorter, so as to clear the feet, would be a distinct advantage, as at present they are often so long as to sweep the ground, but it is to be hoped that nothing more drastic is contemplated. Any artificial design that is not a natural development is bound to be a failure, while if it means the adoption of a frock-coat, it will involve a complete loss of dignity. It would be well if the Greeks

would only take warning from our experience, and realize that when once the clerical habit is discarded, or made optional, there is no knowing where it will end, or what queer cuts will result. On the other hand, it is much to be wished that all the clergy would follow the example of the new Patriarch and cut the hair of the head quite short. The British prejudice against long hair in a man will never be eradicated, and the custom is an undeniable obstacle in the way of reconciling the British layman here to the idea of an alliance with the Eastern Church. Surely St. Paul's dictum that if a man have long hair, it is a dishonour to him, should have weight with the Church authorities!

R. F. BOROUGH.

October 4, 1922.

CONSTANTINOPLE hardly seems to realize the immensity of its danger. There has been plenty of fear and suppressed excitement, but when the first British reinforcements marched in an obvious relief settled down over the inhabitants, and few are far-sighted enough to forecast the conditions of the day after to-morrow. Indeed, the pessimists are to be found amongst those who have the greatest experience and inside knowledge. Even the most hardened pro-Turk has to admit that life here, without some kind of protection in the nature of capitulations, would become impossible for British subjects—a striking admission of the evils of Turkish rule—for if the Briton can hardly escape, how will the Greek *rayah* and the Armenian fare? Personally, I feel that if the Powers are mad enough to sign a peace without capitulations, there will be hardly any British colony left six months after the withdrawal of our troops.

Although the immediate stress is over, efficient arrangements are in being to take the British aboard certain ships in the harbour at short notice if the need arises. Voluntary workers have undertaken the necessary task of organizing plans for warning individuals, and only hand-luggage will be allowed, deck accommodation being all that can be hoped for.

There are still large numbers of Russian refugees here, and they are, if anything, more nervous than other Christians. They know that secret agents of the Bolsheviks have been in the city for long past, and they are convinced that all who fought in Wrangel's army are already marked out for destruction when the Kemalists are well in the saddle. Probably it will take the form of forcible deportation to Russia, and "trial" there by the Soviet; but that vengeance will be wreaked they have no doubt whatever.

For my part, I am ashamed of being British, although it would be a greater infamy to be French or Italian. The full truth about Smyrna will never be known, pro-Turk censorship having been heavily at work; but it makes you squirm to hear eye-witnesses tell of our bluejackets standing on the quay with fixed bayonets, under orders not to interfere, while Turkish soldiers walked round them shooting people in the water. I know of a man (unmistakably English) who was smacked in the face by a Turkish sentry merely for coming rather close; and of the captain of a Dutch merchant-ship who has been unable to take his food for a week because of the nausea arising from the sights he saw!

An Englishman who has lived a good deal within reach of the Kemalist area during the past years tells me that he recruited his army by promises—promises that at every place they took the men would be allowed to loot, take the Christian women for themselves, massacre the rest, and burn the place down; and the Turk, his friends tell us, keeps his promise!

R. F. BOROUGH,
Chaplain of the Memorial Church.

It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good, and the Greek Revolution has already practically put an end to the opposition to Meletios.

SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN,
June 21, 1922.

SIR,

I have been asked to give a short résumé of relations between our brethren of the East and ourselves in this part of the world.

Nearly twenty years ago we used to have visits from Nestorian priests collecting for their churches on the borders of Turkey and Persia. I mention these by way of introduction and not as a normal visitation—they are very infrequently met with now, as may be supposed—but they were my first introduction to Eastern clerics; I had hitherto met only Russian. Strangely enough the meeting took place in a remote part of Basutoland, where I was taking a retreat in a community house. A dark face, not native, looked through the window at me during consecutive addresses and caused much puzzlement. After the second address I was summoned to my rondavel by the Superior to meet a bearded stranger looking very wayworn, who had no sign (as usually recognized) of the cleric about him. It was my task to find a medium of communication. I tried him in vain in as many languages as I could muster on the spur of the moment, and presently a brilliant idea struck me that he might be an Assyrian. The query "Mar Shimun?" elicited no verbal reply, but an enthusiastic acknowledgment. He fell upon my neck, and, when he had at last resumed his seat, sat shaking his head and murmuring "Mar Shimun" several times. I think this is a parallel to the story of Becket's mother wandering through the streets of London with no word of English but "Gilbert," his father's name. So this Nestorian priest, with no word, so far as could be discovered, of any language spoken in Africa, was wandering armed with a letter from his Bishop, signed and sealed, and another from the Anglican authorities in Bloemfontein. His Bishop was Sergius of Van, and he was collecting for a church.

I mention this my first meeting out here with a Christian of the East, because I venture to think its setting was rather romantic, and also to show how much more freely one comes into contact with the East here, and especially with the Greeks, more particularly in the polyglot chief cities of South Africa. There are few Orthodox Russians, however; most of those who call themselves Russian speak German, and are Jews by religion. The Syrians, of whom there are numbers, are largely Roman Catholic; but the Greeks form a compact block, held together by their speech and their religion. There are three Archimandrites—one each at Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Cape Town. They all have fine churches. That at Cape Town is a far-off copy of the Parthenon, set on the side of the Devil's Peak, the northern buttress of Table Mountain, the other two very fine examples of the Byzantine style, well worth a visit by a traveller in the Transvaal. At Cape Town there are fine pictures, one standing under a graceful ball canopy in the centre of the church.

I first made the acquaintance of a Greek dignitary on passing through Cape Town in 1911. My companion was asked if he were a hieromonachus, which he was not, but hastened to say that he was unmarried. I ventured to point out that this was improper from the Greek point of view! As a secular he ought to have been married. The late Superior of Cowley, Canon Parkhurst, the well-remembered head of Zonnenbloem College (one of whose alumni, martyred in Rhodesia twenty-six years ago, we were commemorating yesterday), accompanied me to the Greek Church here to the Liturgy of St. Basil. We assisted at the office of preparation at the Prothesis, and were much impressed with the Archimandrite's turning to us and asking our names, as he struck out the crumbs with the *lonche* on to the paten, that he might intercede for us in making the Oblation. For many years I had not the pleasure of attending a Greek service, as I was wandering up and down in South and East Africa; but I came across children of the Orthodox Church in a school of the U.M.C.A. in the north-east corner of what was then German East. I saw something of the Greeks in Pretoria while working in that diocese, but unfortunately missed the frequent services which they held with us or in our churches in the Bloemfontein Diocese in those days, as I believe they still do. As I sent some cuttings from the *Nea Hellas* the other day on *rapprochement* between the Greeks and English in Portuguese East, and enclose a cutting about similar services in Rhodesia, I will return to Cape Town and mention more recent amenities.

Two or three years ago the Greek Archimandrite was introduced to the Provincial Synod and gave an eloquent address before the Archbishop on their hopes (alas! now so disappointed) of the restoration of St. Sophia. It was remarkable how enthusiastically the laymen received these words. The Bishop of Bloemfontein made a suitable reply, and the episode was closed by the Archimandrite putting on his stole and joining in prayer for reunion.

I think it was on that occasion that the Bishop of Kimberley, together with Bishops Gaul and Smythe and a train of priests and acolytes, visited the Greek Church, and the Greek Lecturer here, an Anglican priest, was permitted to read the Epistle and Creed, as he has often done since.

The Easter before last the Bishop Coadjutor, Dr. Nash, attended the midnight service on the Eve and followed the picturesque procession into the garden outside, where the Gospel of the Resurrection having been read, mutual greetings resounded to the accompaniment of pistols and other fireworks. The Bishop was in mitre and cope, and was saluted by the Archimandrite in the usual way.

This year the Orthodox and Western Easters coinciding, through that very fact, unfortunately, our clergy were unable to be represented, except by myself. I was sorry to have to miss the exquisitely moving Lamentation over the Tomb of Good Friday night, but arriving in good time on Easter Eve was interested to find, with the Greek Consul, the Spanish also, who had served during part of the war as his country's representative at Salonica, where (it will be remembered) Spanish is largely the language of the streets, the Spanish Yiddish of those Jews whom Spain drove out and Turkey received.

The Greek Archimandrite was good enough to attend the baptism by immersion of a small member of my own family in the church of St. James, Sea Point. It took place in the midst of the children's afternoon service on Mid-Lent Sunday. He read the Gospel in Greek and said some kindly words at the end.

At the last Diocesan Synod he was invited by the Archbishop, but was unfortunately out of town at Malmesbury. The Greek community were asked to attend the Cathedral on the evening of the First Sunday after Trinity at a service of intercession for their fellow nationals in Asia Minor; the Dean conducted an intercession service after the Bishop of Pretoria had, in his sermon, alluded sympathetically to their case. The service was suggested for Trinity Sunday, being the 400th anniversary of the Fall of Constantinople (allowing for difference of style), but had to be postponed a week.

YOUR CORRESPONDENT IN S.A.

ATHENS LETTER

ATHENS,
September 30.

EVENTS have been marching rather quickly with us during the past week, and have been at least interesting, though really this has been the most orderly revolution that ever I saw—and I have some experience in that line now. At first we English were kept pretty busy with the work of distributing the British relief to the thousands of refugees who now crowd the Piræus. These are in an appalling state. The great bulk of them have nothing but the clothes in which they stand, and few of those. Many of them started with some outfit, and with at least their money and valuables, but all were searched through and through (some many times over) by Kemal's soldiers before they were permitted to leave, and everything that a Turk can imagine as valuable was taken from them. Then when landed here, after several days on shipboard often, they are simply deposited by the Greek authorities in railway sheds of galvanized iron (disused Customs' sheds), where they camp on the bare ground, with no bedding or furniture, with no sanitary conveniences, with absolutely nothing except the bread and water which—with the occasional addition of cheese—constitutes the Government ration. That is, honestly, all that the Government can do for them, and sometimes some of the sheds get forgotten, the excuse being (and it has validity) that you really cannot run refugees and a revolution together.

Harassed Government officials do not know which way to turn, have not the initiative to issue orders, and hitherto, though things are clearing up a bit now, have not been certain whether any order would be obeyed, or if they would themselves be in a position to go on issuing them. We got our funds at work,

buying milk and bread, and distributing that to the women and children first, and to the men as far as might be, from extemporized enclosures. Usually, we had two or three ladies to distribute, with, say, two Englishmen to keep order, and to act as "chuckers-out" if need should be, though as a rule there was no disorder, and the crowds of poor wretches obeyed anyone who had initiative. We commonly impressed Greek soldiers or sailors to help, and they came readily enough and were quite useful.

At first political events did not disturb us, and we were able to get on with this, and also to distribute relief in money to the few British subjects (Levantines for the most part of course) who are among the crowd. We have about thirty-five of these now drawing relief from our small fund at ten drachmas a day.

Up till September 28 we had only the "self-disbanded soldiers" about, and they were quiet enough. On the evening of the 27th, however, the rumour began to circulate that the troops and refugees at Lesbos, Mytilene, Chios, etc., were taking political action. After all, they had been left without orders or supplies, and that is apt to generate heat and explosive action.

An aeroplane flew over Athens, dropping what were believed to be bombs, but turned out to be tracts, saying broadly that the "National Army" was going to take charge of the situation. Presently we heard that the said army was in its transports at Marathon, about to land and march on Athens, and then that the revolted battleship *Lemnos* (one of those bought from America) was off Piræus with a group of destroyers.

It was Holy Cross Day, and a general holiday, but all was quiet, and I went down to Piræus with Colonel Nairne (military attaché), his wife, and Mrs. Bentinck of the Legation, to distribute relief as usual. Down there we found ourselves, to our huge interest, in the midst of a revolution in action, for the town, which had been quiet enough at first, got into a state of excitement of a sudden, with bells ringing, swarms of soldiers marching through the streets, they *say* a shot or so (I heard none), and so on. What between the festival and the revolution, it was a bit hard to get the bread we wanted for our shed full of hungry refugees, but we got it, and got it distributed; and so back to Athens, to find that the Legation had been, naturally though needlessly, rather uneasy on our behalf. Next day we woke to find that the King had abdicated, and was said to be packing up to go, and that a new Cabinet was in process of formation. Venezelist propaganda was already hard at work in the streets, and the portrait of that worthy, hitherto forbidden, on sale everywhere. The soldiers' leaders were proclaiming that what they wanted in the present distress was a non-party, national Government. All the town was bedlagged by order.

We (*i.e.*, those of the relief on duty that day) went down to Piræus as usual to give out bread and milk, and it was as well that we did so, for the sheds had not got their usual ration, and were getting hungry. However, the little eating-house keeper, who acts as fag for us, had done his part well and had our supplies ready to give out, so that we could get to work.

Our job done, we got back to town just in time to see the "triumphal" entry of the army into Athens. All the streets were flagged, as I said, and the whole force entered as if rejoicing over a victory won. They were loudly clapped, but not cheered.

W. A. WIGRAM.

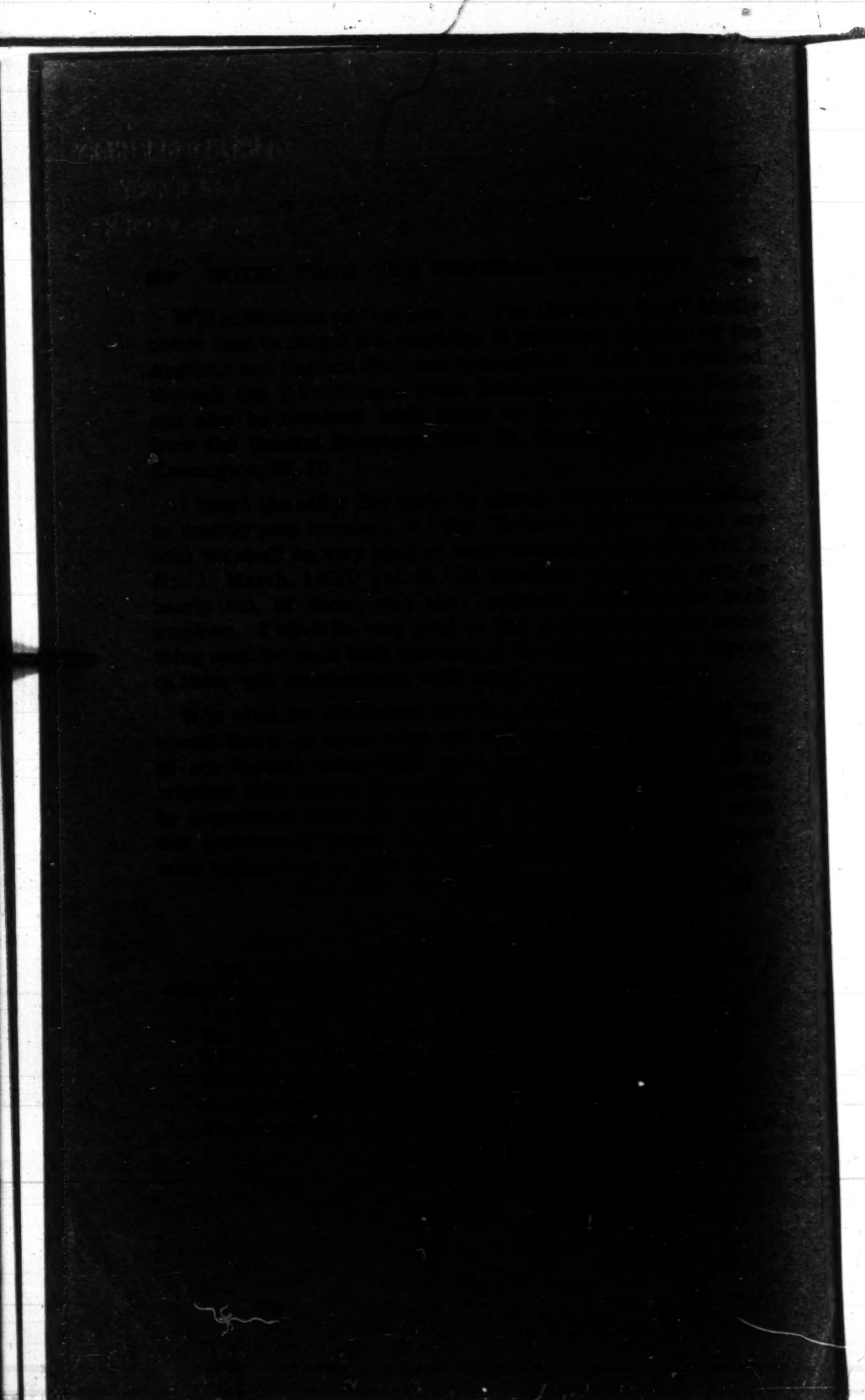
BOOK NOTES

A Guide to the Divine Liturgy of the East. By Athelstan Riley, Seigneur de Trinité. (Mowbrays.) 3s. 6d.

This little guide-book, with its helpful and illuminating notes, is the very thing which those Anglicans who visit Orthodox churches for the Liturgy, and who do not understand Greek and Slavonic, have needed from time immemorial. The work not only of a scholar, but of one who is thoroughly familiar with Orthodox ceremonial, it forms a real guide to the Liturgy. The worshipper who, with it in his hand, cannot find his way, would be very simple indeed.

The Handbook of Palestine. H. C. Luke and E. Keith Roach. (Macmillans.) 12s.

Commander Luke has given or helped to make many valuable contributions to the *apparatus criticus* of the student of Eastern Christianity. His latest work is far more than a handbook. It is an able, scholarly, and admirably arranged manual of the Holy Land.



THE METROPOLITAN EVLOGIOS, ARCHBISHOP OF VOLHYNIA (See p. 151.